

# **East and Northeast of the Borders of the Southeastern Bantu: Partly visible population movements and invisible lineage states: Interdisciplinary approach to political organization, archaeological and linguistic traces and memory in southern and northern Mozambique ca. 400-1900 AD**

July 2014

Distributed as manuscript without full revision of the bibliography and language

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## **Abstract**

This paper deals with the interpretation of archaeological and linguistic evidence. It also attempts to sketch important processes and structures of history of Mozambique and neighbouring areas. On the basis of this reconstitution the visibility of political and social processes in the archaeological record between 400 AD and 1900 AD is commented. The explanation of the visibility rests on the concepts of predatory expansion (and migration) and the lineage state which dominated in the area in various periods and includes a kind of class formation and binds together culturally autonomous communities. A better understanding of institutions and dynamics of the lineage state and the processes of predatory expansion will help archaeologists or even modern historians not familiar with these institutions to understand certain mechanisms and process sequences. Among the causes of internal dynamics are differences between richer and poorer in a political community as well as pressures to exploit more local resources which led to specializations and regional trade.

Having been developed within a thematic cartographic project it is not surprising that it started on the basis of mapping precolonial lineage states and language groups and part of the reasoning comes from the study of distributions, just as partly in historical linguistics, archaeology, historical anthropology, geography and history. The history presented here has in part been reconstructed on the basis of information based archaeological research, inferences from linguistic and ethnographic evidence, observations given by travelers and colonial officials between ca. 1500 and 1910 and oral historical traditions collected from about 1505 and 1730 onwards and registered in written documents. Oral History and written records permit us to reconstruct the existence of states like that of the Bashika and/ or Sono-Hlungwana near Vilanculo, the Cawuke (Chauke) further in the interior, the Gwambe and Tembe further South. The area of the Gaza province and the Lundu-Marave systems in the north are also focussed. In the south we can trace movements of groups identified as having originated in "Baatwa" or Nguni and Sotho, "Kalanga," or Venda areas. Linguistic and historical data and oral

tradition permit to hypothesize that in the Tete area there are traces of Nguni and Makonde and a probable Mongalo dynasty linked to the Marave-Zambezi system. The conclusion is that the larger lineage and conquest states are often not archaeologically visible due to their internal structure. The cultural systems, pottery producers and consumers are organized independently from the political structure. Language seems to be partly independent of the asymmetrically reproduced political and dynastic structures. Visible may be the capital as structure, if stone was used for building and possibly condensed settlement of a central society supporting and organizing the state. What is traceable in southern Mozambique between the 18<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and in parts of South Africa since the 17<sup>th</sup> century through pottery seem to be moments of predatory expansion of relatively egalitarian societies, that is, certain types of migration and conquest of groups who may even have occupied some of the pottery production centres near good clay deposits. In parts of Southern Mozambique there were documented massive population movements in the 18<sup>th</sup> (and possibly also 17<sup>th</sup>) century, 50 to 150 years before the better known *mfecane* of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. There are also traces of pre-17<sup>th</sup> century processes of population movements in the memories referring probably to the 13<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. One or two of these older migration processes of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century which were different in scale from the Gaza state formation in the 19<sup>th</sup> century seem to become visible partly if we map the distribution of decorative motifs like stamped lozenges and other traits like elements of the profile and pot types. Visible seem to be also Swahili expansion from the 9<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup>/ 14<sup>th</sup> centuries and the very decisive Luangwa/Lumbo movements.

This paper will try to help to bridge what is still a gap in knowledge about the past known to a few specialists and popular ideas about the visibility of past empires or ethnic groups and encourage archaeologists to take a closer and more confident and informed look at history and past political structures.

**Key words: Middle and Later Iron Age, Pottery traditions, Archaeological Visibility of States, Great Zimbabwe, Venda, Gaza, Southern Mozambique.**

### **Resumo**

Esta é a versão ampliada e actualizada por pesquisas posteriores de um artigo publicada em forma truncada em 2007 e já apresentada revisto no edu.com. Trata da história de Moçambique após 400 AD e o problema de visibilidade de processos políticos e sociais nos dados arqueológicos, especialmente olaria. Apresentamos um esboço da história política de Moçambique ao sul do Save entre ca. 1100 e 1900 e conceitos como expansão predatória e o Estado Linhageiro que dominava nesta área e inclui uma variante de formação de classes. Um conhecimento melhor das instituições e dinâmicas do Estado Linhageiro e dos processos de expansão predatória vai ajudar arqueólogos e até historiadores modernos que não estão familiarizados com estas instituições de compreender mecanismos e sequências de processos. Entre as causas das dinâmicas internas são as diferenças entre os mais ricos e pobres numa comunidade política bem como as pressões de explorar todos os recursos locais que levou a especializações e comércio regional.

O capítulo 3 trata de movimentos da Idade de ferro inferior e médio. Isso inclui os supostos movimentos de Sotho e Nguni, que pensamos devem ser abordados tendo em conta. O capítulo quatro trata da história de grupos populacionais no sul de Moçambique no segundo milénio. O capítulo quinto é dedicado à questão da visibilidade.

A história apresentada aqui foi em parte reconstruída na base de informações fornecidas por pesquisas arqueológicas, observações dadas por viajantes e oficiais coloniais entre cerca de 1500 e 1910 bem como fontes orais recolhidas a partir de 1505 e 1730 e registadas em fontes escritas. História oral e fontes escritas permitem reconstituir a existência de estados como os dos Bashika e/ou Sono-Hlungwana, Cawuke, Gwambe, Tembe, e de Gaza. Podemos traçar também movimentos de grupos que foram identificados como tendo originado em "Baatwa" (que deve ter referido à área Nguni), "Kalanga," ou na zona dos Venda.

Em muitos casos os estados linhageiros não são visíveis no registo arqueológico. Visíveis podem estar a capital como estrutura, quando foi utilizado pedra para a construção e possivelmente uma sociedade central, com povoamento mais denso, que apoia e organiza o estado. Nos levantamentos feitos até agora sobressai no espaço geográfico estudado a tradição Simunye nos séculos XVIII a XX, uma olaria que parece ter sido o produto de uma expansão predatória de sociedades predominantemente tsonga relativamente igualitárias enquadrada por chefes linhageiros. Estas migrações e conquistas podem até ter ocupado alguns dos centros de produção de olaria. Desta feita, em partes do Sul de Moçambique existiram movimentos maciços de populações no séc. XVIII, talvez já no séc. XVII, 50 a 150 anos antes dos *mfecane* do séc. XIX que são melhor conhecidos. Existem ainda traços de processos antes do séc. XVII, talvez no séc. XI, XII e XV. Um ou dois dos antigos processos de migração, que parecem ser diferentes em escala da formação do estado de Gaza parecem tornar-se visíveis se cartografarmos a distribuição de motivos de decoração como losangos estampados e outros traços como elementos do perfil e de tipos de vasos.

Este artigo quer ajudar a fazer uma ponte sobre o espaço vazio que existe entre o conhecimento do passado por alguns especialistas e ideias populares sobre a visibilidade de estados e impérios antigos ou grupos étnicos e encoraja arqueólogos de estudar história e estruturas políticas do passado com mais atenção e confiança.

**Palavras chave: Idade de Ferro Medio e Superior, Tradições de Cerâmica, Visibilidade arqueológica de Estados, Grande Zimbabwe, Venda, Gaza, Sul de Moçambique.**

## **1. Introduction**

### **1.1. Context**

This paper deals mainly with the "historical period" of Southern and Northern Mozambique, documented by oral sources which permit to identify political structures by name. It also takes into consideration linguistic data and covers the time span roughly between 400 or 1100 AD and the present. It thus includes the beginning of trade near Chibuene and Manyikene.

The treatment of this subject started as a background paper attempting to introduce future archaeologists/historians doing, and preparing to do, field work under Solange Macamo to the problems of historical and archaeological research in the dry-land areas of Gaza between the Save and Olifants rivers that were then being incorporated into the Greater Limpopo Trans-frontier Park<sup>1</sup>. For this purpose

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<sup>1</sup> For support before and after the presentation I thank Paul Sinclair and Solange Macamo. Earlier information by Ricardo Teixeira Duarte and later by Leonard Adamowicz for this paper are also acknowledged. Several contacts with Bernd Heine and W. Möhlig had familiarized me with different stages of the discussion on Bantu languages and language

I attempted to look further than the history of Gaza in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and introduce earlier known movements, such as the formation of the Cawuke (Chauke) or Hlengwe state around 1700 and the immigration Nkomati (Nkumbi), Dzivi and Bila in Inhambane several decades later, (that were considered first considered a “pre-mfecane” and now the probably third mfecane of four). The concepts and models discussed were the lineage state and predatory expansion and delve into the cultural and social structures which may partly have been expressed in “pottery traditions”, using data collected in Mozambique. What is “pottery tradition” and what does it stand for in terms of cultural and historical reality?

When I first presented my background paper in 2006 the text centered on field data collected in a long term personal project initially encouraged by two archaeologists, G. Smolla and M. Korfmann in 1969 and 1971. The original data had been complemented by more recent research, in 1983 and 2004. Now, in 2014, due to easy access to South African publications via internet, especially to Huffman (1989a, b) and Huffman (2004), as well as his Handbook (2007) which reached me with some delay it is possible to generalize more, and include the discussion of questions like the visibility of Swahili presence on the East Coast, which is very relevant for the discussion of visibility and hypotheses for the rise of the Nguni and Sotho which is approached in chapter 3. Having been developed within a thematic cartographic project it is not surprising that it started on the basis of mapping precolonial lineage states and language groups and part of the reasoning is based on the study of distributions, just as partly in historical linguistics, archaeology, historical anthropology, geography and history. Due to technical constraints no maps are presented here in a text which has been reconstructed on the basis of information based archaeological research, inferences from linguistic and ethnographic evidence and oral tradition, partly previously collected and published.

It seemed appropriate to include data on the linguistic positions main three South East African Bantu languages and their neighbours like the Tonga of Inhambane. I shared the view put forward by Ehret in 1970, 1981 and 2007 and apparently also hinted at by South African linguists, Herbert and Bailey (1995), proposing that Nguni must have originated somewhere in the contact zone between Bantu cultivators and Khoe (Ehret’s Limpopo Khoe) herders. This was possibly near Broederstroem but could also have been somewhere else in the region, e.g. including Mochudi in neighbouring Botswana. Nguni, Sotho and Tsonga share a number of innovations and form the Southeastern Bantu group. The Tonga of Inhambane do not form part of this group and seem to have originated as an offshoot of proto-Shona. The only archaeological link seems to be Gokomere-Zhizo. But Gokomere-Zhizo and related pottery fazies also constitutes a link between Shona and Sotho. However, it is not quite clear if the similarities between Sotho and Shona all arose at this level. Early Shona had contacts of its own with Khoesan (Beach 1980) that apparently led to borrowings transmitted as far as Tonga.

Huffman was to propose in 1989, 2004 and 2007 a hypothesis on Nguni and also implicitly S.E. Bantu origins different from that of Ehret. The initial focus of Huffman’s 1989 study was the evolution of the Luangwa tradition, and its possible origins in Naviundo. Differently from his Nguni hypothesis the study of Luangwa seems to have been amply validated, also by linguistic evidence, but incomplete, since it does not follow Luangwa –Lumbo to Mozambique and Tanzania. Luangwa

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contacts.

tradition is of importance for the understanding what happened ca. 1000-1.200 in northern and central Mozambique. It is linked to Lumbo tradition discovered in 1978 by post-independence researchers in northern Mozambique (see Sinclair 1986). Lumbo continues into southern Tanzania. Kwekason (2006) encountered it near Mikindani where he dated it.

In the south the delimitation of Gokomere-Zhizo from other similar: Klingbeil, Ntshekwane and Mozambican undescribed Gokomere-Zhizo from Inhambane and Maputo is difficult. It was proposed that the appearance of Gokomere-Zhizo would stand for an expansion of influences from the Zimbabwean plateau, both cultural, like the possible expansion of the cultivation of *plectranthus esculentus*, totemic clans and populations to the South African region. South Africa was not empty and the original population would have contributed to the formation of the Sotho. It remains to be seen if lexemic elements support this hypothesis. Sotho would be a sister formation to Tonga, but was much more firmly integrated in Southeastern Bantu

Although the scope of this paper is wider than in 2006, it does not cover all approaches of interpretation of archaeological evidence. Sinclair's from 1987 caught the attention of David Beach in his book on the Shona published in 1994 (p21). The few data from Mozambique as I know them do not seem to support such an approach. I did not check either recent South African approaches in historical archaeology that also include visibility of communities.

The oral presentation of the background paper on processes in Southern Mozambique in the 17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century in Kampala in 2006 centered on one particular aspect, the archaeological invisibility of the larger lineage based conquest states like the 19<sup>th</sup> century Gaza "empire" (see Liesegang 1974a) and the visibility of processes of "predatory" or popular expansion, as exemplified by potsherds with impressed or incised lozenges which can mostly be dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The invisibility of lineage states (and often also of some linguistic borders) in the archaeological record was a problem which some of my archaeological teachers and colleagues, Smolla and Korfmann, had encouraged me to look into in 1969 and 1971 after their own field work in Southern Mozambique in 1968. This research centered on history and ethnography and permitted some publications in 1973, 1974 and 1987 (in Korfmann et al. 1987) without coming up with comprehensive answers on visibility of ethnic units in archaeology. The visibility of predatory or ethnic expansion in Mozambique only became clearer in 2004 after I had reconstructed in more detail historical migration processes in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the Gaza and Inhambane provinces and done some more fieldwork there, and after Fumiko Ohinata had presented her stimulating article on the results of an excavation at Simunye<sup>2</sup>, a site in northeastern Swaziland excavated in 1999 and published in 2001/2002. She studied the distribution of what I propose to name Simunye tradition or fazies. Her "daring" ethnic interpretation of distribution of decoration patterns and vessel body shapes which I had first rejected when I read her paper. The rejection had been based on paradigms or caveats taught to me as a student<sup>3</sup>. Accepting the possibility of detecting ethnicity opened up the

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<sup>2</sup> In the published article the spelling is Zimunye, but it should be corrected to Simunye.

<sup>3</sup> These paradigms were based on parts of a text book by Jacob-Friesen from the 1920s (critical of Kossina) to which my archaeological teacher K.H. Schwabedissen referred to repeatedly, insisting on separation between language, people and pottery, but also encouraged us, as later G. Smolla, to attempt to verify the function of pottery in living cultures and historical cases in Africa.

possibility to combine the synthesis of historical research of a period of "predatory migrations" in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries with the archaeological and ethnographic record of Southern Mozambique and neighboring areas<sup>4</sup>.

Several years later, in 2012, the revision of data on migration of Bantu into Mozambique and in Mozambique for use by history students offered further stimuli. Northern Mozambique and the neighbouring Tanzania offer some interesting examples, related to trade, of expansion of populations like the Luangwa and Lumbo traditions, as well as the influence of historical centres like Kilwa and those earlier ones on Pemba Island on the continent where an early Swahili centre developed as Francis Chami had shown. Linguistic research is also very useful, especially the study of distribution of lexemes or grammatical forms (Schadeberg 2002). This can be combined with that of archaeological distributions like that of the Kwale-Matola and Luangwa-Lumbo traditions. This provides tie-ins with a chronology of layers and time depth. The result is a history inferred partly from the distribution of structural elements, not based on narratives.

## **1.2. Organisation of this paper**

The introduction describes part of the approach, which is further characterized in chapter 2. There the concepts of lineage state and predatory expansion appear in section 2. 3 and 2, 4. Those who followed E.O.M. Hanisch's and Tom Huffman's studies on Venda and other recent attempts may find some parts (1.3) relatively redundant now. Middle Iron Age population movements and Huffman's theory on Sotho and Nguni origins as well as the Luangwa tradition are focused in chapter 3. A summary of the history of some major formations mainly in Southern Mozambique is sketched in chapter 4. This serves as a background to the chapter on visibility. Those who have read the previous studies by A. Smith (1973) and Rita-Ferreira (1982)<sup>5</sup> will find one or two new names of formations in chapter 4, new proposal for dates, apart from the slightly different approach. Many important elements were already in their studies. Some data were known even before.

Although I do not share Tom Huffman's views on Nguni origins, those on Luangwa seem to be well supported and much of the recent half historical research quite interesting. The archaeology of Nguni formation and its extension into Natal has still to be worked out. The present and future generations of archaeologists and the present one will have to do more analysis and look for additional evidence. The problem of visibility will be summarized in part 5.

## **1.3. Changes in the Tasks of Archaeologists and Historians of Africa**

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<sup>4</sup> A partial re-study of the pottery of Inhambane province in 2002 and 2003, supported by a grant of the French Government to *Casa Velha* cultural association in Maputo, and participation in a GTZ cultural heritage project in Inhambane permitted to close gaps which had remained after research in 1969 and 1971 as well as after further corrections in 1978- 1997 made during brief visits to Inhambane. In this context I am grateful to Chris Stevens and the participants of this group, Candido Teixeira, Gianfranco Gandolfo, Antonio Sopa, Solange Macamo and the late Francisco Sorte. As noted below, a chapter in the e-book by Heidi Gengenbach helped to complete the understanding of the situation in the Nkomati and Limpopo valleys in 2013.

<sup>5</sup> António Rita-Ferreira, a largely self-taught anthropologist and historian, died in April 2014.

This study has to be seen in the context of disciplinary changes in the 1990s and first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Archaeologists, being involved with the study and preservation of material heritage and pre-modern social and economic structures have in many parts of Africa taken the lead in research on pre-imperialist political and socio-economic structures. This can be observed in Zimbabwe, vividly proven by S. Manyanga's paper presented to the Kampala workshop as well as earlier work by I. Pikirayi (1993, 1997a,b) and G. Pwiti, to some extent in Mozambique, in Burkina Faso, in northern Nigeria with regard to Borno<sup>6</sup>, where archaeologists have started to read 19<sup>th</sup> century sources but also in other areas. As this trend which started between 1975 and 1995 in West Africa, had reached southern Africa around 1990-2000, becomes general we will have to focus on how to improve the archaeologist's use of oral and other historical sources and the methodology of working with written sources. Most researchers trained in History Departments such as that at UEM paid very little attention to the analysis of older oral sources as part of historical methods. Some of the historical aspirations of archaeologists in Mozambique were probably indirect victims of the war in Mozambique. The boycott of the apartheid regime blocked contacts with South African researchers. but there had been some progress. The material presented in 1982 by Paul Sinclair served as background to Ekblom's survey that accompanied her studies of pollen and pollen diagrams in Chiboene published in 2004. Some authors, for example Sinclair (1982), Kwekason (2006), Madiquida (2007), avoided cultural tipification of pottery. This might have been a first step to ethnic identification and makes it difficult to introduce students to this subject<sup>7</sup>.

The change in the attribution and choice of areas of research in Africa was made easier by the fact that social, economic and political change, Marxist or developmentalist (capitalist) orientation, the market for research grants, career considerations etc. have led many historians based in Africa to focus on recent history, contemporary issues and problems of modern economic development, often abandoning research on, but not always the teaching of, older pre-colonial or pre-imperialist political history. At the same time French New History propagated by historians of the medieval period who constitute the second generation of the *Annales* School and new systemic approaches (cf. Ekblom 2004) had led greater numbers of historians in the 1980s mostly outside Africa, to look towards archaeology and material remains as legitimate sources of knowledge. Some like Gomes (1988) even spoke of a cognitive revolution which almost eliminated in some countries the pure historicist approach and theoretical borders between Social Sciences, Archaeology and History.

In archaeology and history there are funding constraints. South Africa is among the few countries which still produces some results. In Mozambique many environmental impact assessments seem to have degraded in most cases to inefficient byzantine ceremonials made previously and not during building operations<sup>8</sup>. There is lack of observation in the field and even less formal reporting. Therefore little new knowledge has been produced since the 1980s.

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<sup>6</sup> ? I thank D. Gronenborn (Mainz), I. Pikirayi, J.B. Kiéthega and other colleagues for practically demonstrating this.

<sup>7</sup> Here I would like to exempt researchers like G. Mazarire who are able to sophisticate David Beach's approaches.

<sup>8</sup> Some might be exempted, e.g. L. Adamowicz's activity in Cabo Delgado related to Anadarko activities and plans. But there seem to be some constraints regarding publication.

Archaeology also diversified and changed and redefined part of her tasks and methods. This had led archaeologists to re-develop the study of the historical time period. Besides the traditional field and laboratory research skills there is need for some understanding of dealing with, and careful search for, primary sources, including oral history. Archaeologists have to understand the class and patrimonial structures of pre-colonial African states and the ways oral sources talk about political structures and political change, influence of world views, and the place of culture and production in the archaeological record, etc. They will have to be able to locate and systematically collect data on important *tradita* like clan names, terminologies (e.g. designations of the types of the pottery spectrum in a wider area), or cultural traditions regarding public and private. This paper will try to help to bridge what is still, at least partly in Mozambique, a gap in practical knowledge in one particular field.

#### **1.4. The local challenge: Problems of interpretation of historical evidence and visibility of political processes**

It is often said that part of Mozambican history is written on potsherds. But can we read the documents? Field work in 2006 in Massingir in Mozambique's Gaza province by the team led by Solange Macamo was on sites characterized by a lozenge imprinted pottery. Researchers (and possibly the local population) were tempted to attribute this type of pottery to the Gaza kingdom which existed in Southern Mozambique roughly between 1821 and 1895/97. A survey of known sites in southern Mozambique and neighbouring areas in South Africa and Swaziland shows (Korfmann et al. 1987: 15, map 1b, Ohinata 2002:33, 38 and DAA Collection) that this pottery is partly contemporary with the Gaza kingdom but also occurs on sites outside the limits of this kingdom and on sites which may be older. This shows that pottery can be linked to the historical record and elucidate important aspects of historical processes, but that there are also risks of erroneous interpretation.

The area chosen in the south (see Chapter 4) was and is interesting for another reason. Attempts are being made to remove part of the human population from the National parks that are being established. This would remove the population from traditional sites which have been used for several centuries in some cases and “dislocate memories” and relationships. Very often it is overlooked that e.g. the Limpopo park area had a population (dominated by chiefs from the Valoyi clan, with some Maluleke in the north and Mathe and others in the south) and that it was formerly important in the regional economy, not just a residential backwater subject to climatic crises or a hiding place for poachers and shady trans-frontier activities<sup>9</sup>. In spite of the relatively small number of permanent inhabitants in modern times the dry lands between the Save bend and the middle Limpopo- and Nkomati region had played for about a millennium an important role in the pre-

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<sup>9</sup> According to Press reports (cf. *Domingo*, Jan 28-01-07, p.3) there had been a conflict between a group of persons attempting, with the support of the KFW, to establish a more or less autonomous Park administration interested in resettling most of the local population outside the Park (according to a project prepared between November 2005 and May 2006) and the top of Ministry of Tourism that wanted more influence and possible also more space for Mozambican rent-seekers (some of whom were interested in local culture). This situation was not very conducive for a large scale registration of the cultural and historical heritage by third parties in the areas concerned or follow up on a find (former hoard?) or iron hoes in the area.



colonial economic history of South-Eastern Africa as a zone of transit. It disposed of islands of settlement and bases for hunting. The coastal area from the Save, the Inhambane and Gaza coasts and areas as far as Northern Natal received copper and iron from the interior until the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (V. Tomás dos Santos 1836). The situation is similar to that of other dry areas which formed part of old transit areas. This is the case of the Niassa Game Reserve around Mecula and Mavago in the north of Mozambique which had been very important as caravan route in mid nineteenth century and probably also certain anterior periods. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it was decided to reserve these areas, which had partly become marginal for the modern production and trade structures, for the protection of endangered species some of which had almost become extinct. But, as referred above and demonstrated by Thulamela and other sites<sup>10</sup>, the Parks frequently include vestiges of earlier human occupation, in addition to present day residents, some of whom descending from the longer established population.

We know from the days of the research of A.T. Bryant (1889, 1929), Ellenberger, N.J. van Warmelo (between 1927 and 1974) and others that the history of the pre-colonial peoples of Southern Africa is far from simple and that we should not treat the so-called ethnic or cultural units or identities as all-embracing units which can be indefinitely projected into the past in a fixed territory. Dynastic and language history produce different results. The dynasties are often imposed by groups that give up their language and adopt the one of the local population. The ruling Moyo group in the Zimbabwe stete, that had the heart of a domestic animal, the cow, as its taboo item, may have come from a different cultural environment and adapted itself to the Karanga world. Many groups of out-migrants and refugees also often give up their language after one or two generations. Even in the pre-mfecane days there were many migrations, processes of assimilation, state formations etc. The Nguni group probably ceased to be visible archaeologically in certain periods. But the visibility of some groups had been surmised. Already in 1978 Huffman had written about a possible 11<sup>th</sup> century *difaqane* (*mfecane*). But he seems to have dropped this particular interpretation later. But there must have been mfecane-like phenomena earlier, some in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century. They can be reconstructed from oral history, but not yet fully from archaeological data, it seems. In Southern Mozambique it is becoming clearer that the well known 19<sup>th</sup> century forced migrations and conquests were pre-ceded in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century by a less well-known but much more radical process of substitution of dynasties and populations in the modern Inhambane Province and also central parts of Gaza. There were even earlier migrations: Tradition recorded as far back as 1730 about origins of ruling lineages in Delagoa Bay chieftaincies located their origin in "Baatwa", which in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century meant the Nguni speaking areas. This suggests that in the Libombos or west of them there might have been areas occupied by Nguni before 1550. This was against the idea that Sotho or others had been substituted there, but seems to have been confirmed by Delius's and others' research in the Lydenburg area. But are these movements all visible in the archaeological record? Some in the interior certainly are and instituted local traditions. A case in point seems to be Magude as studied by Heidi Gengenbach (2005, see below).

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<sup>10</sup> The Kruger Park includes several other historical sites, such as Silowa near the Singwedzi river on the Libombos, a settlement destroyed in 1889 or 1890 (referred in Korfmann et al 1987: 52-54 as K2)

Forty or fifty years before T. Huffman A.T. Bryant (1929: map) had distinguished and mapped at least three different original northern Nguni groups in Natal, including a typical corridor pattern, linking the Nguni belt to the interior<sup>11</sup>. But Bryant was still under the impression that there had been a north-south migration of the Bantu groups from Central Africa as late as the 15<sup>th</sup> century, followed by a later migration from the upper Limpopo to Natal. In reality, major movements from north of the Limpopo basin may have ended around 800/900 with the migration of some Gokomere-Zhizo producing people to areas south of the Limpopo where they probably came to contribute Shona elements<sup>12</sup> to the nucleus of the Sotho group that possibly received later refugees from the Zambezi region (Moloko from the Luangwa-Lumbo movement) that may have reinforced basic structural similarities of totemic clans. But the notion that the Nguni had come in different staggered movements from the interior to the coast was lost, although the social memory of one these movements still existed in part (Bryant referred to the *lulu* grain baskets).

Nguni society must have emerged on the Highveld near modern Botswana before the formation of the Sotho. Nguni were forming a Bantu society that had incorporated many elements of Khoe culture from vocabulary and click sounds, houses, cattle and cattle economy, which would have been the reason why their neighbours called them Vata<sup>13</sup> (bushmen, pygmies) or Koni/Nguni (from Khoe with a nasalized *õ*)<sup>14</sup>. The Sotho (or Gokomere-Zhizo) intrusion possibly about three centuries later separated them for centuries from the Tsonga in the East. Tsonga may have received Nguni innovations via Sotho. Nguni may have been comparative late comers in Natal and in the 16<sup>th</sup> century there still may have been no homogeneous Nguni culture in Natal. The Portuguese ship wrecked observed several different societies, as Montez concluded. Bailey (1995) assumes that Tekela Nguni has a strong Tsonga substrat. But this should be spelt out. Only from the 12-13<sup>th</sup> century the existant Tsonga and Nguni societies may have interacted again, increasing northern Nguni elements in southern Tsonga culture, like the use of spears and shields. (Sotho and Shona had equally effective fighting axes). Part of the Tsonga, Chopi and Shona also used bows and arrows.

The interaction and competition of Nguni and Sotho seems to have led to two mfecanes around 1220-50 and 1450. During a certain period (15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century?) in the pre-19<sup>th</sup> century past Nguni groups still extended deep into the Highveld west of Swaziland, as van Warmelo had recognized<sup>15</sup>. Remainders of the Nguni cluster were assimilated to the newly formed and expanding Sotho-Tswana as Koni. A limited northward Nguni movement, influenced by Sotho-Tswana pressure, impacting on the so-called Va-Nkomati and Eastern Sotho, may have been related to migrations of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries dealt with here in Chapter 4. It seems

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<sup>11</sup> It seems that Wright disputed on the basis of later data the validity of the Lala group but it is possible that in the three generations since Bryant's first research perceptions had changed.

<sup>12</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The name Tswana may have been derived from Tswa or Tswanyana, contracted to Tswana. The reason for this name became less evident after the Tswana had sifted out elements of Khoe or Twa culture from their own.

<sup>14</sup> The -ni in Nguni is not a locative, but an attempt to make the sound pattern conform to Bantu words which have vowels in the end.

<sup>15</sup> The difference was that they had not emigrated from Natal as van Warmelo supposed but were moving into Natal. Huffman's diagrams in (repeated 2007: 450) focus movements out of Natal.

that populations attacked or displaced there might have moved into present Southern Mozambique, to survive in the struggles.

As to the causes of movements and predatory expansion, the interpretation of the occurrence of terracing and traces of erosion in northeastern South Africa as signs of population pressure (Marker and Evers 1976, Huffman 2007), but also to guarantee soil for the planting of the Livingstone potatoes (*plectranthus esculentus*) considerations about differential mortality due to malaria, are important elements in the reconstruction of structural history. Among the causes which might have contributed to the decline of Mapungubwe and possible transferences of capitals to areas farther north there is not only a change in climate (Huffman 2005) but higher cost of defence and losses of herds and people to wars and raids owing to pressures from the south. In order to introduce this process of pressures we shall sketch the term predatory expansion.

## **2. Conceptualizations and Concepts**

### **2.1. Approaches to past systems**

There have been several approaches to regional political, economical and land occupation systems in South East Africa. Some archaeologists have tried to understand<sup>16</sup> regional economic systems through spatial analysis (cf. Pwiti 1997, summing up studies by Lundmark and Sinclair 1984, Sinclair 1987 and earlier studies), others attempted to approach configurations through structures, symbols and some practices of past societies (e.g. Huffman 2005), others to establish seriation, especially for the first millennium and subsequent periods (Huffman 2007) others tried to link the archaeological record with known historical entities (Pikirayi 1993).

We shall try here a two-pronged approach: elaborate an outline of historical political structures and population movements with known identities and then look into the question of visibility. Before we deal with visibility we have to address the question of what kinds of structures and processes existed. This will be done in this chapter (2.4 and 2.5.). There is also a note on the cultural-linguistic units (2.2), which are at least named, in order to make the argument a little bit clearer.

### **2.2. The cultural groups and linguistic evidence<sup>17</sup>**

South Africa as well and neighbouring Mozambique and Zimbabwe have been inhabited by pottery producing populations for at least 1900 (Huffman 2007: 123, & passim), according to earlier estimates even up to ca. 2.200, years (Pikirayi 1997a). This is attested by the Matola -Silver Leaves pottery complex or tradition, the Bambata ware in Zimbabwe and the extension of Gokomere-Ziwa in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. These populations spoke probably Khoe and Bantu languages, had chiefs, formed political units and possibly political lineage complexes and ethnic units. It is probable that Bantu language differentiation and language discontinuity and the building up of dialect chains started in the first millennium. I assume that the Shona and Sotho complexes had common origins, basically

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<sup>16</sup> I want to make clear that “understanding” is a process of construction which generally involves the use of paradigms and has to be revised when paradigms fall under criticism and more observations become available which delineate the real movements.

<sup>17</sup> The topic was debated in Smith 1973, Rita-Ferreira 1982, Korfmann et al. 1987, also touched partly by Ohinata (2002). The subject is included here mainly to make the part on visibility more intelligible.

because they had common totemic clans and a few other similar traits, and that Nguni and Tsonga also had common origins because they had no totemic clans and shared the root for *sclerocarya birrei* (*nkanye, umgan*).

Ethnic groups in central and northern Mozambique with their languages derive either from the Kwale-Matola or Urewe Eastern Bantu stream (that probably included Nkope and Gokomere) or later 12<sup>th</sup> century and later intrusions. Among the latter the *Munda-nyakoko* corridor seems to be the most important. It seems to be linked to the Luangwa and Lumbo traditions whose producers seemed to have migrated eastwards parallel to the Zambeze around the 12<sup>th</sup> century and then advanced northwards on the coast as far as Tanzania. Diagnostic for the predominance or not of the old Urewe-Kwale elements seems to be the lexeme for crocodile. If it is *egonya, kwena, ngwenya* the group is in tradition with the Urewe-Kwale-Matola stratum, if it is *nyakoko* the elements from the *munda nyakoko* corridor of the 12<sup>th</sup> century prevail<sup>18</sup>. The migrating communities north of the Zambezi probably were reabsorbed almost completely by the surrounding original occupants, but may have left some lexemes or cultural features. Migrations were probably not all entirely voluntary and if there were several groups a fan pattern developed. This appears in the mapping of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century mfecane, the yao migrations of the 19<sup>th</sup> century between Malawi and Tanzania, some 15<sup>th</sup> century nguni movements (Huffman 2007: 446, 450). This also helps to answer the question is whether the *Munda-nyakoko* or Luangwa-Lumbo corridor was the only phenomenon of its kind at its time. When Huffman traced the origins of Luangwa he also postulated that Nguni and Sotho had also migrated between ca. 1100-1300 AD. But he had no corridors or fan-like patterns to trace the routes as we shall point out in the next chapter<sup>19</sup>.

Swahili movements at about the same time and later may have meant not only trade but also movements of people. 12<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century Swahili influence seems to be preserved in traces in Chwabo, Sena and Nyungwe in various fields, e.g. related to slavery or imprisoning. Swahili *Mzalia* (slave born at home) became Chwabo *mudari* (slave), *kafiri*, (unbeliever) became *kapolo* (slave, trade slave) in several languages in the area of influence of the Marave state, including Yao, Chewa, Sena and partly also in Makhuwa. This suggests that the contact with Swahili culture was made before *mtumwa* became the dominant term for slave in Swahili. Maybe in Sena and Shona *mtumwa* was not acceptable because a similar word ("*mutume*") was used for royal envoy, servant.

If Schuiling and Harries (1994: 10) are to be believed the old Swahili centre opposite Pemba Island is also matched by an apparently relatively old centre of coco palm cultivation in the Tanga and Pangani areas with diversified genetic material testifying to the antiquity of coco palm cultivation in this area. Possibly because of different ecological conditions and later population movements the impact of plantation of coco palms near Kilwa and Moçambique Island was much

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<sup>18</sup> As the map in Schadeberg 2002: 157 shows, the *nyakoko* corridor also eliminated the locative suffix -ini.

<sup>19</sup> The older ethnographic literature on modern Tanzania seems to suggest a number of movements from the interlacustrine area, or of influences such as the pottery roulettes (plaited fibre, cords or carved wood) retransmitted from there. In the case of the roulettes they seem to stop at Mahare mountains east of Lake Tanganyika. The chronology also has to be taken into account. This may mean that a fan-like structure exists, but that it may be later and that it was too weak to send out long movements over the Rovuma and into the Luangwa basin.

more limited. The distribution of *mnazi* for coco palm and tradition of producing a wide variety of products from it goes as far as Mambone on the mouth of the Save river (apparently not to Chiboene and Inhambane). The irradiation of cultural influences from a centre seems to be related to duration and actors and also local receptivity. At Inhambane where a new start was made in the 18<sup>th</sup> century under the Portuguese, a term derived from the Portuguese term *coco*, *likhokho*, became dominant.

The material and intangible cultures of the ethnic groups were not very homogeneous and many elements considered typical for one group (e.g. the xylophone for the Chopi) are also found among some of the neighbours as the Tswa near Homoine and Morrumbene. There are wooden ritual libation cups (Ch. *digombe*<sup>20</sup>) with a handle among Chopi and Tswa. They are for sacrifices to the ancestors.

Not only elite, but also commoner marriage ties crossed state and ethnic borders. Economic ties also crossed these. There was also internal warfare, partly due to attempts to expand territory, succession conflicts and rebellions and this may have favoured diffusion.

### **2.3. The lineage states of Mozambique and Africa**

For the understanding of Mozambican and African pre-colonial structural history the “lineage state” is one of the central concepts. The lineage state is a political and administrative structure and constitutes the equivalent of the 6<sup>th</sup> century European feudal or patrimonial state of the Franks. In Mozambique they may have had anything from two to five thousand inhabitants for the smallest to ten or fifty thousand inhabitants for the medium sized ones and about 500.000 for the biggest ones such as Gaza. The lineage state is often a conquest state of limited duration in its maximum size. Even the smaller ones are often ethnically heterogeneous. (For reasons of analysis it should be mentioned that the early feudal state of western Europe is partly a hybrid formation, resulting from a conquest of a pre-existing Roman structure of rural estates, towns, church land with a partly proto-industrial past. The lineage structure comes from the conquerors). This type of lineage structure can be found in many parts of the world. E.g. it is encountered in the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century Sokoto caliphate of Nigeria, especially in the central Sokoto part of this state and in some of the emirates to the east of Sokoto<sup>21</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> century Songhai state of the Askias. There are also many examples and variants in Mozambique. This state depends on the loyalty of sibling groups (king and his brothers and the surviving brothers of the late king) backed up by senior male (and some female) members of the royal family and household who safeguard the corporate interest of the lineage group (or some of their sections) as a whole. Examples in Mozambique are the 18<sup>th</sup> century states of the Tembe, Vilankulu and Cawuke, the 19<sup>th</sup> century Mondlane, Khosa and Gaza states in the areas south of the Zambezi and Mataka Cee Nyambe's Yao state in ca. 1830-70 in the north. In the case of the more complex societies with professional groups of blacksmiths, potters with their own cultural production, hunters, herders, often also peasants, these are only partly affected by conquests, but may partly be relocated after the

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<sup>20</sup> This seems to be linked to Swahili *kikombe*.

<sup>21</sup> I am referring here to writings on Hausa states by M.G. Smith and three accounts on parts of the Sokoto state encountered while doing field work at Surame west of Sokoto, where descendants of Muhamed Bello, ruler 1815 - 37 still were district chiefs.

conquest if suitable raw material and others resources are present. They may become part of a technical civilization independent of political structures

The 19<sup>th</sup> century Gaza state had a maximum extension of almost 1.000 km from north to south and over 400 km from east to west, including sparsely settled dry lands and floodplains. Local production systems were generally not extinguished by the conquest, but heavily "punctured" or diminished in some cases, especially with regard to cattle. Tsonga in the South and Eastern Shona with the prominent Ndau, as well as Sena were not eliminated. Had the state not succumbed to Portuguese colonial conquest it might have left a stonger cultural imprint.

The settled areas of smaller states like Ndzovo Mondlane's Khambana had only extended over areas of 70 to 150km. They had in common that the king and his brothers and sons and some uncles were the principal administrators of lands. Leaders of the army, e.g. in Gaza, were often not members of the ruling lineage and in the second and third generations of the kingdom descendants of the local population could become army leaders.

The lineage state is characterized by a real and symbolic asymmetry, which creates the basis for some kind of symbolic reciprocity. This means "exchanges" between the king and aristocracy at the top and the people at the bottom. The ruler "eats alone" to a limited degree only. E.g. the ruler annually distributes fire to households in his domain, assuring the well-being of the inhabitants. In exchange he received tribute (Ts. to pay tribute *kuluva*). A field is cultivated for redistribution. The king or chief receives at least one of the two tusks of the elephants hunted in his country (generally the "tusk of the ground", "*dente da terra*" in Portuguese), parts of animals hunted (often a hind leg), cereals, a share of the fermented drinks prepared and first fruits obtained, etc. (cf. Feliciano 1998). In addition there were court fees, fees of strangers presenting themselves (the "mouth"), etc. Thus he may benefit from trade or even trade himself. (If there is no adequate mechanism of control, retainers leave the chief with debts rather than a surplus and therefore it was more frequent to limit activity to control, extraction of profit and capital and redistribution.). The ruler reinforces his power with acts of magic considered witchcraft punishable by death or simply dangerous if used by commoners. While a commoner is obliged to share everything with his kin and often aspires to produce only as much as his neighbours in order to avoid accusations of witchcraft, a ruler has to aspire to produce more in order to be able to entertain guests and can distribute goods and ask for loyal service. In principle he should be afraid of witchcraft and magic of members of his own household or powerful outside enemies only, but not of his subjects. If any of his subjects aspires to using his prerogatives or magic, he would be killed by them, as king Ngungunyane of Gaza suspected in 1888 of one of his Nguni officers who had fallen ill.

In the lineage state the ruling lineage has generally a perceived as being of foreign origin, exempting the ruler from solidarity, matching the asymmetric socio-political pattern. This foreign origin became to be seen as negative after the change of the paradigm of legitimation after the rise of the nationalist nation state in 1975. While in the age of the lineage state foreign origins may have been invented, after the rise of the nation state they were omitted or reformulated. The foreign origin and direction of universalistic religions was for a short period a problem but did not have to be investigated here. The process of critique and reformulation started in Mozambique after independence [1975]. The possibility that in the decades before traditions of migration of the Gaza Nguni, that is a group of high prestige, invited

people with similar names like the Langa to associate themselves and invent a similar origin has already been discussed by H. Ph. Junod (1977) who had started working on the area in the 1920s. It is still not solved. But progress in research on the Langa group (Huffman 2007: 448-452) increases the probability that it was not. Do we find more Moor Park related pottery in Southern Mozambique? Most traditions of origins we know seem to have been relatively constant, and implicitly reliable, although they lost some detail over the centuries.

For some not very clear reasons we observe in many areas of Mozambique (as well as Zimbabwe) a second or third wave of larger (new?) lineage states becomes visible in the traditions in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Almost always in the south and parts of the northern interior their founders seem to have been junior members of older ruling lineages, indicating the persistence of class and legitimation structures established centuries before. The question is whether the “emergence of these new states” is just for economic reasons (more trade, and new, more productive crops) or a perspective imposed by the lack of evidence for older periods. In the case of the Khosa and Tembe, analysed recently, the lineage state expanded, left local dynasties that turned independent and at later moments started to grow again, partly with the absorption of older junior lineages. In the case of the Khosa group or lineage family there was some kind of maximum extension between the founding (1450?) to around 1620 (to Inharrime)<sup>22</sup>, a new growth in the Limpopo valley in the 18<sup>th</sup> under Mabone, and in the Nkomati valley in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Among the Tembe the results of a division in the 18<sup>th</sup> century disappeared in the 19<sup>th</sup>. Some clans like the Libombo north of modern Maputo in Mozambique and the Pai in northern Swaziland and neighbouring South Africa fell from power and were absorbed and almost disappeared as lineages in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Moyo state of Great Zimbabwe, now dated here to around 1250-1300, seems to have been one of the older lineage states functioning on the same lines. But her fragments have no absolute internal chronology.

Changes in trade patterns in the 18<sup>th</sup> century have been suggested as a possible cause of political growth, with trade goods used to reward retainers helping to expand power structures. This would explain why the same pattern of creation of new states can be observed among the Lomwe and Makhuwa of northern Mozambique (Medeiros) as well as in the south.

It seems clear that by the 18<sup>th</sup> century social and economic asymmetries in the social system were used by ambitious rulers to harness manpower for fighting and stabilization of a new ruling group. Domestic “slavery” seems to have flourished in the Zambezi valley by the 16<sup>th</sup> century and elsewhere by the 18<sup>th</sup> and thus was also or sometimes primarily a political institution. Remuneration of warriors or state agents in cattle, with cloth, copper neck rings, fire-arms or other goods which can be used to marry seems to have led to the formation of a new central administration (and in some cases to new class structures and identities). In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century Maputyu Tembe, son of Mangove, lateral descendant of the Tembe royal house may have used this system of dependence and remuneration, including cattle (that could be used for *lobolo*), and copper neck rings, to establish a new state which wrested power from less organized neighbours in the “Machavane” river valley which was to become “Maputo” river valley and from the

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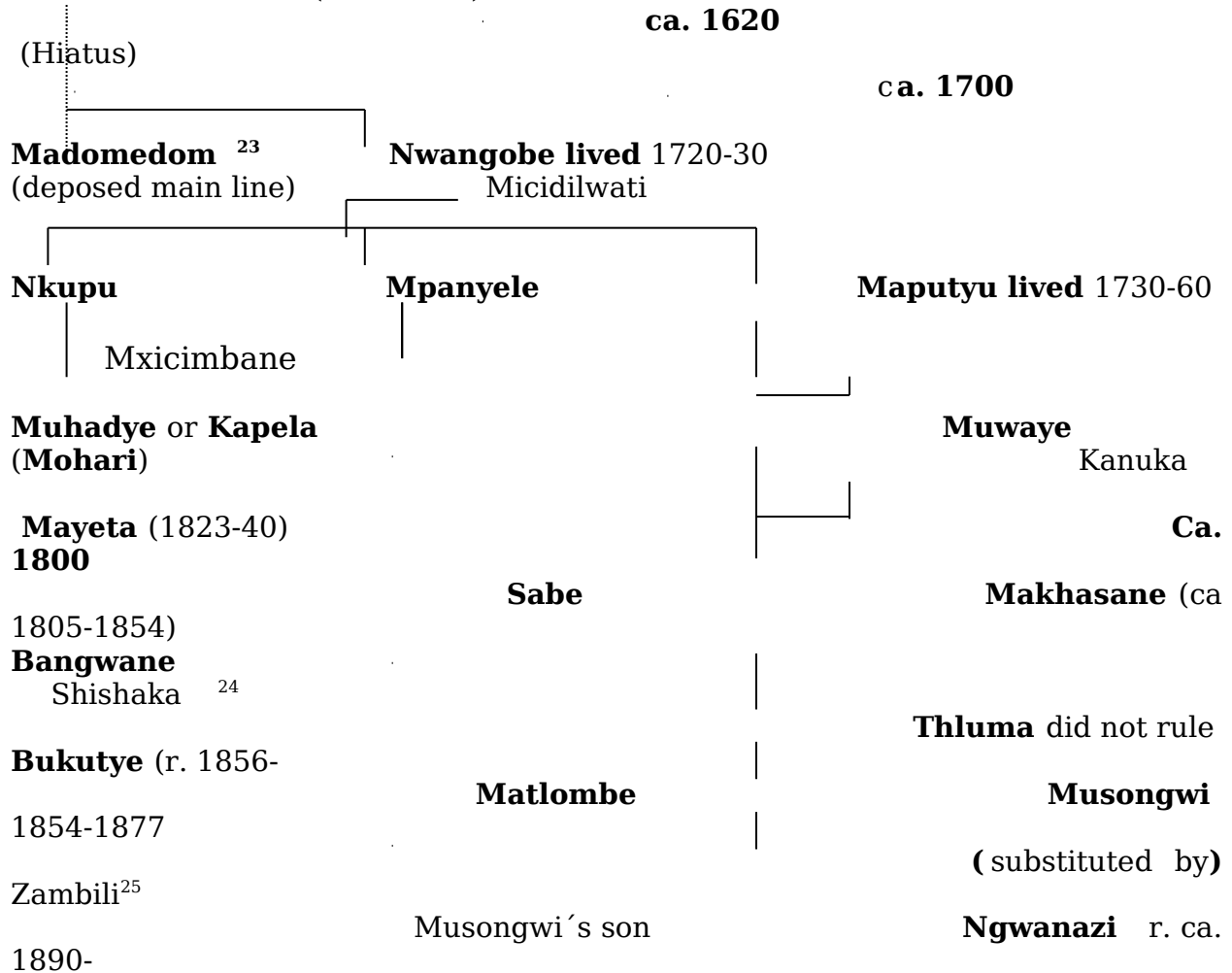
<sup>22</sup> Vasco da Gama may actually have seen Khosa-related migrants with strong ties with metal traders from the interior when he approached the coast at the Praia de Zavora near Inharrime in 1498.

elder Tembe lineage in a struggle lasting over 60 years (cf. Smith, Hedges, Harries). Similar struggles may have occurred farther inland.

**Fig 1: Principal lines of the Genealogy of ruling Tembe chiefs ca. 1620-1890**

after Vianna Rodrigues 1909: 146-153 and H.A.Junod 1912 showing impact of telescoping

**Tembe** before 1554 (ca. 1300 ?)



<sup>23</sup> Ruling Tembe chief attacked and replaced by Nwangobe ca. 1730-1735

<sup>24</sup> Daughter of Makhasane and had been governing Inyaka island. Apparently to marry her the clan relationship to Tembe had to be "killed". Nowadays Tembe from Tembe (Catembe) and Maputyu can marry. Bangwane was killed by his indunas and Shishaka became regent.

<sup>25</sup> also written Zambia. Daughter of Mswati the marriage was around 1850



1896

At the same time the Dlamini south and west of the Tembe also created a territory of their own and seem to have encroached on neighbours, some of whom moved north into Mozambique.

In Africa, as elsewhere in the world, we also find other patrimonial types of government, existing either alone, or in combination with, lineage structures. There are despotic systems with some more elaborate bureaucracy, "house" and palace structures, etc. which do away with the solidarity of the groups of royal siblings and minor lineages and locate competition for power at the level of the sibling group. Examples are 16<sup>th</sup> century Ethiopia, Mamluk Egypt or the empire of the Ottoman Turks. Others are based on the take-over of political structures by internal politico-military agents. There are also special structures like that of the kingdom of Buganda, which did without a royal clan or lineage, but had a royal court system, that incorporated some elements of a bureaucracy, with appointed agents. The palace forms a locus where the interests of clans are mediated. As in other states (Ashanti) etc. we can talk of a bureaucracy without writing. Central structures such as in Buganda or Ashanti may have contributed to continuity.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century Gaza state, founded around 1821-22 by the Gaza lineage of the ruling Nqumayo clan inside Zwile's dispersing Ndwandwe state in exile, depended on the administration through the royal lineage and incorporated allied clans and lineages (such as Ncayyi-Ncayi Dlamini who filled most commanding posts before the civil war of 1861 (Myburgh)). As mentioned, some political and military roles were filled by appointed agents not from the same lineage as the head of state, but these were incorporated into the system of royal households, which are part of the Nguni (-and in this case Ndwandwe-) cultural pattern (cf. Barnes 1954, Liesegang 1977). In the case of the Ndwandwe and other Nguni a king founded several households, one for each of his principal wives and their sons, and attributed conquered lands and their populations to certain houses (cf. Barnes 1954). These houses deal with the representatives of the local populations attributed to them in the process of conquest or course of possible later realignments. During conquests, brothers, paternal uncles of the ruling king and representatives of allied lineages also received a share in the administration of the country. In Gaza this happened especially around 1840-45. This favoured the solidarity of the ruling lineage and the ruling group in general. They together with their respective clients defended the state. This meant that representatives of houses the Nqumayo and the Ncayyi-Ncayi Dlamini clans, and to a lesser degree other lineages all obtained around 1824-50 some land and people to administer and profit from. These lands were not all contiguous. This caused the Nguni ethnic stratum to become stretched thinly over a wide area, although there was some concentration near the capitals, within about 10 and 150km. But even in this concentrated area they were a minority. The heads of the lineages would reside near the capital and only their representatives move annually to the allotted territories. People of Nguni origin turned into an aristocracy which oversaw work rather than executed manual tasks themselves, probably leaving pottery to the local population and captives. There was a dominant court language, *singuni*, but the local populations retained their own. Even some of the smaller lineage states, such as that of the Mondlane founded by Ndzovu around 1810, which had Nwanati (Khambana) and southern Chopi subjects who retained their chiefs were linguistically diverse ( multi-language or bi-lingual).

Especially the bigger lineage states are complex. Some of the territories at the borders may have hardly been controlled at all in certain periods, others like the Zambezi Prazos near Sena south of the river around 1845-90 may almost have had two different allegiances at different levels and therefore present no very neat hierarchical patterns. In some cases the allegiance is in reality more of an alliance, but occasional power struggles or wars/raids may show who really controls the situation. In many of these cases politics leave some impact mainly on the male side of culture, but often only indirectly on local society.

In most conquest states many of the lands and people distributed were inherited by the heirs, leaving less to distribute to the royal family in the next generation, when the heir to the throne succeeded to the position at the head of the state. If the king was strong, conflicts and suspicions might lead to redistribution of lands and clients involved. He might also have faced the corporate interest of those who already had lands. This seems to have happened in the conflict between Mawewe and Muzila in 1858-61. Thus the lineage state is inherently unstable, if we look at periods of two or three rules, leading to changes of structure or longer or shorter cycles of civil wars. Major wars can be avoided by internal alliances, negotiations and control by family councils, or religious authorities. Long permanence in one site must have caused environmental stress.

Some of the discontinuities in the past such as the end of K2 near Mapungubwe, the abandonment of Mapungubwe after ca. 80 years (cf. Huffman 2005, 2007), the slow abandonment of Great Zimbabwe may be the result of these instabilities, which are less visible if we have shifting capitals such as in Gaza and the Mutapa state, which are sometimes difficult to identify and align in a sequence. The Gaza capitals stayed only about 3 to 5 years in the same place, the Mutapa capitals possibly longer, almost a rule, or for the space of time between two major periods of internal warfare.

In smaller would-be conquest states the control of subjects can be a problem. Forced subjects may try to break away again, e.g. they may try to regain their independence when the central state structure is attacked. As regards women recruited among the conquered population or rival lineages, they must not show more loyalty to their brothers than to their husbands<sup>26</sup>. This can partly be achieved by giving them sons and patrimony to care for and roles of respect in the new state.

Disappearing lineage states may leave traces of their ritual or religious lives. In the case of the Lovedu and Mojaje, the “rain queen”, we probably have the survival of the ritual center of an older (Kalanga/Karanga ?) state, possibly a fragment of the Great Zimbabwe state that survived in the Thovele state, but was not integrated into the Singo remnant state. This past would make her a “cousin” of the Teve “queens” (Ningomayi, etc) of Chimoio. Similar female ritual agents, called Makewana or the Sarimas of the Marave north of the Zambeze, and some less known existed in matrilineal societies.

### **2.3.1. Usurpation by juniors or domestic administrators in an existing state**

Dynastic change in an existing state is assumed as a reality by African historians, even earlier West African chroniclers. If we look at Songhai, Kanem Bornu, or Ghana-Mali, we find two or three changes of dynasties in the course of some 500 to

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<sup>26</sup> This is highlighted in traditions about the Nkumbi of Homoine and in West Africa the traditions about Sundiata Keita in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and his struggle with Sumanguru.

1000 years in one political region and centre, as well as movements of the centre. In others, especially those in close contact with an external power, changes may be even more frequent.

There is also the usurpation of power by "prime-ministers", or first indunas, court officials in times of crisis. Thus the take-over of the Mthetwa state by Shaka Zulu is a takeover by an agent or state officer. Zwangendaba may have a sort of first induna in the Ndwandwe king Zwide but in the migration period outside sources do not describe him in this function, neither do recent researches<sup>27</sup>. Other cases in point are Muhamed Askia in ca. 1490 putting an end to the short-lived dynasty of the Sonnis. In ancient Egypt the founder of a new dynasty was often a general or army commander of the previous dynasty. Outside Africa we have the rise of Turkish dynasties that started as families of palace guards and officials, or immigrating transhumant tribes, or the ending of the Merovingian Frankish dynasty in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, while the new Carolingian dynasty re-introduced a short-lived lineage state. Other cases are to be met in Mali and Bamum in the Cameroons. The Great Zimbabwe state may have had court officials but they may have been of the same clan, such as Changamire, or Amir Changa, who also seems to have been a member of the Moyo clan, but not of the same lineage as the ruler.

In other cases we find change within the same clan group or royal family lineage group. Powerful uncles (surviving brothers of the king's father) founding a new dynasty are to be met with in Tembe/Maputyu around 1730-50, in Dzovo Mondlane breaking away from the Makwakwa ca. 1810, and repeatedly in Mabyaya dynastic struggles (near Marracuene, at least twice in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and once in the 20<sup>th</sup>), Sono and Cawuke history. A dynastic change near Homoine is also described in the local traditions as acts of usurpation in the family, by in-laws, but these may have included elements of migration because they seem to have happened in a period of migration. Immigrants who according to tradition had accepted a local chief and given him wives later assumed the chieftainship and ousted the former chief. As a result of this change ethnic or linguistic changes seem to have taken place. Many other cases are less clear or must have remained unrecorded. The lineage states in Southern Africa, which existed among Nguni, Sotho-Tswana and Shona as well, depended on the legitimacy of a lineage or clan, plus asymmetric social reproduction which made it difficult for other groups to accumulate power and oust them.

### **2.3.2. Centrally directed expansion and assimilation**

The appearance of terms like Nyai in the Mutapa empire, which seems to have originally been "messenger of the king" and then became an ethnic term, suggests that the process of expansion and administration is not exhaustively captured if we only look at the royal lineages. Non-lineage members were often involved in the command of the army and the administration of the royal households, often linked by special ties or almost institutional dispositions reinforced by marriage alliances. In many cases the manpower serving the lineage assumed a collective identity, half ethnic and half functional. In the Gaza state we had the Bulundlela, the "pathbeaters" of Tsonga origin, and the Ndau, of Sanga, Danda and Teve origin and originally incorporated into Nxaba Msane's state (1826-36). Members of both of these two groups were incorporated into Nguni household structures and only rarely, in competition with each other, assumed corporate identities. This came

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<sup>27</sup> His grave has been located on the Zambian side of the border and descendants of his brother located in Zululand.

after the end of the Gaza state in 1895-7. Both Bulundlela and Ndau were nicknames for socio-cultural groups and later became ethnic names. Among them both their own and the language of the rulers were practiced. But those Ndau that were transferred to the South in 1889 lost their language. Tsonga, that of the surrounding local population prevailed.

A major lineage conquest state reorganizes previously existing populations which may retain some structural identity. In the households of the rulers and in the national institutions (age classes, army, judicial system) a cultural and social assimilation takes places (cf. Hughes 2006: 6, 25). These intermediate classes might retain some of their own material culture.

### **2.3.3. Centralization of command over expansion or mushrooming of daughter lineages in moving expanding groups?**

The Luangwa-Lumbo movements of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries AD are highly visible in the archaeological record and have, in fact, been reconstructed on the basis of pottery distribution. They left apparently a strong linguistic imprint (here called *nyakoko-munda* corridor) and seem to have their centre in the same Luba area that has also been included in the discussion of the origins of the Marave and Lundu migrations of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is not known if there were movements in between. Marave and Lundu migrations have been reconstructed on the basis of about ten accounts of contemporary observers from about 1585 to 1750 and oral tradition and are apparently much less visible archaeologically although attempts have been made to identify the pottery of the Maravi capital situated in Malawi. In this period there was some centralization, but the divergence between Lundu (Zimba) and Marave contains the basic elements of a fan-like structure, which might also have included Makonde, Mwera, "Namarrais" and coastal dynasties.

It is possible that Luangwa and Lumbo brought Western Bantu to the lower Zambezi valley and basin, but in the Marave movement Chewa, that is eastern Bantu lexemes, seem to have dominated. Makonde, linked by tradition to the Marave expansion, incorporates a lexeme for smallpox, which we also find in Shona<sup>28</sup>. And there may be more.

Which model could be suggested for Luangwa and Lumbo that introduced pottery and into a nuclear area also many lexemes from western Bantu? There must have been migrant communities, organized in large, probably stockaded villages. The communities probably had communal cemeteries, and fixed themselves for some time at certain sites, producing their pottery. The origin of massive pottery layers at coastal sites has to be explained. The presence of this pottery on islands such as Ibo and Wamizi suggests that populations had sought refuge there. This was the pressure which may have led Makhuwa groups to emigrate to the Komoros. It seems that this emigration fits this time slot.

There must have been competition between villages and communities rather than a permanent central command. As to culture, there must have been contacts with local Makhuwa culture, whose language prevailed in the end, possibly with some loans. The question is, if some of the population nuclei survived until the 16<sup>th</sup> century. A case in point is Maurusa's state and the queens mentioned in the

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<sup>28</sup> See Liesegang (1987) for names of smallpox. It was interesting that Makonde does not have a term derived from Swahili *ndui*, like Makhuwa *etthuwi*.

1880s. (See below 3. ). And what would have remained in terms of culture in the 19<sup>th</sup> century?

#### **2.3.4. Religion in lineage states**

Religion, generally linked to social structure and world view, was generally structurally dispersed (in ancestor service, magic) and super-ethnic religious relations. States might be linked to certain cults, but these were often similar to those of neighbouring states. Religion and belief systems were anchored in a wider world. Major pervasive droughts were calamities and threats to well being which single states and dynasties often did not face alone. The Queen Mojaje of the Lovedu (now in South Africa, possibly a Karanga or Great Zimbabwe off-shoot) was consulted by a wide range of chiefs or heads of state, e.g. the Bila ca. 1810, if not earlier, (Jaques 1982: 15), by Gaza around 1859-60 (Neves 1878), in addition to the far-away Zulu and Southern Sotho (Krüger, BM mission). The Lovedu shared the "thermic code" of "hotness" or ritual danger (Feliciano 1998), that determined ritual danger and magical risks for the groups of Southern Mozambique (Murimbika 2006). So it may be said that there was a similar world view or cosmological beliefs in the area. In addition there were family and state cults (cf. Liengme 1901 for Gaza). Given this structure the supra-state role of the Catholic Pope in Western Europe of feudal lineage states of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries can easily be understood. Pre-imperialist Africa was not different and thus had a flexible religious structure with some authorities outside the state, but some rituals like extinguishing the fires annually and replacing it by fire distributed by the chiefs had a wide distribution<sup>29</sup>.

#### **2.4. "Predatory" expansion and population movements**

Lineage expansion and conquest states are not the only way of expansion and change of political power. At the other end we have predatory expansion of segmentary populations who often displace important parts of the original population. Segmentary societies generally have no commanding central political authorities and small local communities with lineage structure may be practically independent from each other.

Predatory expansion is a term which Marshall D. Sahlins, a neo-evolutionist, materialist or symbolic anthropologist, (depending on the point of view, cf. West 1997:12), introduced in 1961 when he tried to interpret the expansion and warlike activities of the Tiv in Nigeria and of Nuer and Nilotic groups in present-day Sudan, Uganda and Kenya. He drew attention to the military efficiency of acephalic social systems with age classes, but no ruling classes, with regard to conquest and incorporation of territory. The term seems constitute an "ideal type" in the Weberian sense, distilled from case studies, and validated by referring to analogies. One would expect that socio-political structures resulting from a different evolutionary path show cultural particularities absent from others, especially as regards the actual organization of age-classes and war activities. 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century Tsonga expansion may not have been fully analogous neither to the Nilotic nor to Tiv expansions, or similar to Luangwa, Jaga and Marave migrations. But their impact on pottery distribution may have been similar.

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<sup>29</sup> Even the Yao had a tribute called *camoto* (for the fire).

Predatory expansion may have been characteristic for agricultural societies inside Africa in various phases and regions as well as outside Africa from New Guinea<sup>30</sup> to Asia, Europe (Indo-European ca. 2000 BC, Celtic, Germanic and Slavonic migrations between ca. 200 BC to 800 AD) and America (e.g. Ute-Aztec and Tupi-Guarani movements). They may even be inferred for earlier Neolithic phases. These migrations do not introduce new ways of producing basic food, but used a system of social relations which mobilizes man-power for fighting in a more efficient way than in some neighbouring groups and centralized states. They disarticulate losing competitors permanently (this even may include massacres of parts of village communities<sup>31</sup>).

Important cases are the Nilotes who between ca. 1000 AD and 1850 occupied parts of East Africa (Uganda, Kenya, Central Tanzania). The Galla or Oromo Ethiopia in the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century are another historical case. Cwezi, Tutsi and Hima may have been part of other systems and the introduction of carved, plaited and twisted pottery roller stamps to the inland area could have occurred during these movements.

It is probable that there were similar "pressure systems" in other parts of Africa in certain periods. Examples are the movements of the Mane in West Africa (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century), with probably earlier antecedents, the Jaga and Lunda and Chokwe in Angola-Congo region of Central Africa, the Zimba Marave of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> and Laponi of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (with probably earlier antecedents which may be represented by the Lumbo tradition of the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century and later). In Southern Africa the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century "Macomates" and "Landins" advancing north of the Limpopo may have been part of a recurrent phenomenon of movements due to competition over land, a resource essential for cultivation and pastoral activities. This type of expansion is of interest to the archaeologist because it is a phenomenon which often seems to be reflected at the level of material culture and visible to the archaeologist, because populations are moved who tend to keep on producing their own pottery.

There are also intermediary forms of predatory and lineage expansion with class formation, combining traits of both. Most processes of predatory expansion are relatively visible in archaeology, because they move a society and her producers with their culture. (Only if pottery is produced by outsiders settlement structures might become the only evidence.) They move large populations, composed of men, women and children, often not very stratified, with some tendency and power to reproduce their way of life. The family units of men and women will probably build their shelters organized as small local communities, thus producing their basic domestic outfit, looking for local sources of raw material. The pottery produced will be made according to a canon brought by the migrants.

At the same time the expansion of the social system may bring about language changes. In relatively small colonizing minority communities, the language in daily use is eventually filled up with vocabulary and grammatical forms from that of the neighbouring original inhabitants<sup>32</sup>. In this case pottery may be more conservative than language.

## **2.5. The role of refugees from processes of growth and expansion**

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<sup>30</sup> Studies by Mervin P. Meggitt.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. recent archaeological studies of LBC (Linear band ceramics in Western Europe)

<sup>32</sup> Rupert Moser addressed this problem several times. See Moser 1983 and other studies.

If we analyze known 19<sup>th</sup> century pre-migration situations and the subsequent processes quite a number of migratory movements like that of the Makwakwa who fled towards Inhambane from Chibuto in 1839-1840, those of the Nkuna who fled to the Khosa and from there to the neighbourhood of Maake and Mojaje at the same time and the earlier migrations of the Ngwane of Matiwane, MmaNthatisi's raids and others in the *mfecane* in ca.1817-1821 are the result of growth processes in new centers which forced groups away who took the lands of the previous inhabitants. Not only at the periphery, but also those very close to a spot where a new center is being created, land is being taken away for new occupants close to the power center. This process produces refugees. Depending on the degree of training in the formation of larger military states, refugees can turn their defeat into a political success story, mostly reached at the cost of many lives. The less well known 18<sup>th</sup> century migrations were not different. The Bila or Vilankulu who appeared near Inhambane in 1750 had lost their territory in the Limpopo valley. Two groups of those who had taken possession there also moved around 1760. Most of the 18<sup>th</sup> century migrants into Mozambique and the Tsonga emigrants of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were apparently relatively modest in their aspirations, due to their limited numbers, military and social experience. They may even have changed their language on the march. Since in growth processes often most of the population and political structures remained in the area of origin it might be difficult to suspect that they had produced refugees who moved elsewhere.

Thus pre-imperialist African states produced refugees and migrants as part of the political processes. This refers to inter-group conflict mentioned above and in-group (ruling elite) conflicts. Often the migrants were in a category of retainers and often relatively poor, having settled on less fertile land and were therefore obliged to increase their income by other activities. Pottery was one of them. In this case minorities might influence the pottery spectrum. Working as blacksmiths and metal workers was another. If they had some capital they might do some trading.

A relatively well known case of refugees, doubling as artisans and specialized metal traders in South Africa, are the Lemba, quoted as refugees from north of the Limpopo in 1730 by Mahumane and in 1777 by an "Austrian" trade agent as metal traders<sup>33</sup>. As such they survived in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The "Chopi" who fled from Gaza to Manhiça and Matola-Rio in 1889-1890 and later excelled as rice growers for some decades are an example of displaced populations who took up activities that cannot have been dominant in their home areas. They had fled over a distance of about 150-250 km.

### **3. Early and Middle Iron Age population movements**

#### **3.1. Introduction: Huffman's theory of Sotho and Nguni immigrations**

In 1989, 1994, 2004, and 2007 Tom Huffman postulated a migration between the area west and southwest of the centre of linguistic diversity in Tanzania to South East Africa. Initially mid iron migrations were to have led to the formation both of the Sotho and the Nguni group (Huffman 2007: 154, 182, 445).

The hypothesis gained cautious support from several researchers like R.K. Herbert and the late David Hammond-Tooke. Hammond-Tooke looked at kinship terminology and housetypes and favoured a migration of Nguni from the Southern end of the interlacustrine area. In the process earlier "iron age cultures were

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<sup>33</sup> Liesegang 1977

displaced or absorbed by incoming people (Hammond-Tooke 2004: 71). A paper by R.K Herbert and Huffman was countered by a paper by Paul Lane on the “use and abuse of ethnography in the study of the South African Iron Age”. As far as I could gather Lane’s article insists on a different methodological paradigm and not so much on the overawing practical difficulties of making comparisons when the area of origin suffered later huge changes such as the formation of the interlacustrine states, immigration of Nilotic groups, including Maa groups. The logistics of passing groups of mixed farmers through environments hostile to cattle raising, not very different from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, were apparently not addressed neither by the proponent nor the critics. The local interactions in the new habitat have been focused by Huffman 2007. The producers of Blackburn pottery (ca. 1.100AD) were to have been linked to origins of the Nguni group (Huffman 2007: 443) and about hundred years later Moloko was to have given rise to the Sotho group. In 2007 Huffman seems to have opted for limiting Moloko migration. His map on p. 182 still shows a migration from the southern Tanzania highlands, around Uhehe, but a map on p. 445 has a movement from the Pungwe region only (in the modern Beira hinterland) to the Zoutpansberg region. A similar movement is quite possible and could be interpreted as flight from attacks from Luangwa-groups, in a situation similar to the movements along the Rovuma around 1860-1880. Although I think that Sotho should have been quite well established south of the Limpopo by that time it is quite possibly that sizable groups of refugees increased the numerical ranks of the Sotho and that some of their culture survived. Besides pottery elements already incorporating some traits of the Luangwa tradition, the typical double walled houses on the lower Save may already have existed and given rise to similar structures in Kaditshwene (Kurrechane) centuries later.

Therefore only the theory of origin of the Nguni case has to be discussed. The idea behind the route proposed by Huffman seems to have been a kind of reversion of Zwangendaba’s migration of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that ended up with having two small Ngoni nuclei and their supporters in the Nyamwezi/Sukuma area (Kahama district, cf. Barnes 1954). There is no clear corridor for cattle from Tanzania to Mozambique. There is one not very secure from Zambia to Tanzania which was used by Zwangendaba’s group. There are some high patches in Ufipa between Tanzania and Zambia, where with some luck and good local knowledge in the appropriate season cattle could be moved. The extensive forest and savanah stretches in Southeastern Tanzania had apparently limited the movements of Savanah hunters, and then agriculturalists with cattle, limiting e.g. the distribution of rock paintings in Tanzania. Movements emanating from the interlacustrine region, cultural diffusion e.g. of rolled on stamping from the interlacustrine region all seem to have ended in this forest belt south and east of Tabora.

Due to their small numbers the groups of Zwangendaba’s Ngoni who transposed the barrier could not have been considered of carriers of a vigorous Nguni culture capable of influencing the region. This limits their use as an example of transference and culture.

Huffman had opted to disregard the other formations that had been competing with Zwangendaba’s Ngoni and forced them across the Zambezi, together with the Maseko. In a mfecane type situation the whole intermediary region would have been transformed from Tanzania to Zimbabwe and southern Mozambique, with the bigger more powerful groups or sister formations staying behind. This fan pattern,



to which we referred above, may have prevailed during the Luangwa tradition movements. In case of a Nguni movement starting in Northern and central Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe would have been filled up by sister formations of those finally reaching the south. They did not form a continuous corridor but a sort mosaic of larger and smaller Nguni states and surviving older formations. Since there were already people living there, the invaders would have to show themselves as very dynamic in order to create a powerful group and absorb the captives from the local populations. In an area inhabited by people the tendency would have been to assimilate the migrants to local culture. This happened to the Nguni north of the Zambezi after the mfecane. Thus, on the Rovuma, near Songea, some Nguni elements survived until the 20<sup>th</sup> century among the Ngoni, when the linguistic elements diminished very much. The process seems to have been partly a gradual substitution of the vocabulary and grammatical forms (R. Moser 1983).

The elements cited, some pottery elements, locatives, *hlonipa* forms (tabooing names), are not very convincing evidence to point to migrations (cf. Huffman 2007: 439). Locatives ending with -eni which are found in all South East African languages, Makhuwa, Ngindo, N.E. Bantu, some Swahili forms came with the first Bantu stream (Schadeberg 2002: 157). This is closer to 200-400 AD than 1.100 AD. The fact that Luangwa expansion eliminated these forms shows that it is not a later innovation. *Hlonipa* forms are part of gender and power relations, inserted in marriage and cultural political patterns. They cannot be transmitted in isolation. They were also part of Austronesian (malayo-polynesian) culture and were described for Madagascar, e.g. the Sakalava (Last 1896). Linguists found them important because they apparently helped to preserve khoe heritage in the Nguni culture (R. Bailey 1995 in Mesthrie ed. 1995). They were preserved because Nguni were exogamous and therefore needed specific processes to incorporate wives that were different from the predominantly endogamous Sotho.

By mapping the distribution of the locative Suffix -ni by Schadeberg (2002: 157) demonstrated that it was an innovation of eastern Bantu in the early first milenium, surviving partly close to the Swahili coast, in the Makhuwa triangle and among the Ngoni-Ngindo north of them, and in the south among all South Eastern Bantu. Pressure from Shona and the Zambezi corridor eliminated it probably after 1.000 AD. Thus the locative suffix -eni cannot have been a late innovation among the South-Eastern Bantu. There were competing locative prefixes, such as bu- vu, bo, ka, kwa (Ngunga et al. 2014)

Some doubts can also be based on the political and historical structure of the region. Did a centralized state arise in the Nyamwezi area and did it partly disappear later? Nyamwezi could distribute copper from Katanga and local salt from springs. They seem to have been known at the coast and appeared in maps as Moenemuzi. This alone is not sufficient as a bis for a strong mfecane movement. A study of the mfecane 1825- and pre-mfecane 1740-1780 shows that movement over the ground with hungry migrants would result in shifts of 200-300km in one season, 15 to 20 days march with baggage including possibly seeds, with raids on the local population for food and women. Inevitably they would not only raid for and import food, but also women and wives, but also part of their culture, and recruit herders and fighters. And the culture of their final neighbours would also

have some long lasting influence<sup>34</sup>. The interlacustrine region may not have been a major mfecane generating region around 1000-1.100 and most processes starting there seem to have ended in the surrounding area where fleeing dynasties seem to have settled down.

### **3.2. Conclusion: An alternative explanation of Nguni and Sotho origins**

The Nguni are an ethnic group now living mainly in the coastal areas of Southeastern Africa. They were originally, and partly later, in contact with both Khoe and San. The northern Nguni acquired at least three click consonants in their language from the Khoe, the Southern Nguni (Xhosa) have many more (Louw ). In addition they took over essential elements of their house types and the cattle economy. This was possibly in the first millennium AD. In the case of the Xhosa contacts continued until the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>35</sup>. The early Nguni assumed an identity of herders different from the mussel and fish-eaters near the sea and maintained an avoidance of eating fish which they took to Southern Mozambique in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. There is also a group of Sotho known as Koni, the Sotho equivalent of Nguni with the same fish taboo (Ellenberger etc.). They are apparently differentiated from the fish eating Tlaping. It seems that the partly malaria-free environment and the small scale political structure, circumcision at a late age and formation of warrior age classes (a trait which they shared with the Sotho Tswana) made them candidates for predatory expansion. They entered Natal and may have participated in the formation of the Mutapa state ca. 1450. In 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century substantial groups of Nguni were still on the Highveld, where they were settling west of the present-day Swazi and were known as Ndebele or Tebele<sup>36</sup>.

It seems that we have to count with a continuous population pressure coming out from the Nguni and Southern Sotho-Tswana areas of Southern Africa (in the period 900-1820). As referred to these areas had age classes, were conscripting boys and young men for automatic military service under the control of chiefs and local communities. The age classes and military service are one of the constitutive elements of predatory systems. Therefore it does not surprise that "Nguni" and "Sotho" pressure towards the north should have been repetitive in waves between ca. 900 A.D. and 1825, with ups and downs which link it to certain crises and structural changes, that we can designate as *mfecanes*.

A model proposed here is that we have to count with several successive movements of migrants, resulting from four or five series of regional outbreaks of crises. What we know that part of the ruling lineages governing in 1550 around Delagoa Bay had originated in what was the Nguni area or "Baatwa", the land of Nguni or Khoesan, and that they had come in three waves, according to tradition collected in 1730. There is, however, no date for their arrival, except for the evidence, that most must have come before 1554. They set up a relatively stable

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<sup>34</sup> The research by Barnes 1954, Thomas Spear 1972, which also pointed out ecological factors and Rupert Moser on the Ngoni of Tanzania is relevant here.

<sup>35</sup> See summary in text-book by Parsons 1982 (a New History of Southern Africa). Macmillan and College Press, quoted after reprint 1986.pp. 19,-36

<sup>36</sup> In Korfmann et al.1987:81 I drew attention attention to the Nhlapo who according to Bührmann had been living near Heidelberg (not far from Johannesburg) at the "Roode Koppen" before the mfecane drew them East. The name Phalaborwa or Paravotwa means overcoming the south (or overcoming the Nguni) which implies that Nguni (of Bokoni?) had been in the region.

pattern of lineage rule in small chiefdoms which survived until the 19<sup>th</sup> century and still exists in traces (Junod 1927, Smith 1973, Liesegang 1987)<sup>37</sup>.

The origin of Sotho seems to be partly linked to a vigorous expansion of Gokomere-Zhizo producers into Southern Africa<sup>38</sup>. Gokomere-Zhizo should represent the ancestral Shona group, that had occupied the southern two thirds of present-day Zimbabwe (maps in L. Swan 1995 , Huffman 2007 ). The division of Shona and Sotho societies into clans named after animals makes it possible to postulate a common origin for Shona and Sotho societies somewhere before or around 900 AD. Sotho may have originated from Klingbeil -Msuluzi ware producers (Evers 1980). These wares show a close affinity to the Gokomere- Zhizo tradition north of the Limpopo. This pottery tradition also penetrated Mozambique partly near the coast (Save valley, Chiboene, Inhambane Bay, Zimpeto north of Maputo having passed Limpopo and Nkomati rivers ). This penetration may be dated to 800-1000, a period when Chiboene already functioned as centre of import and export trade and support to the coastal or Inhambane Tonga. In South Africa Gokomere-Zhizo transformed into Klingbeil and Msuluzi (Evers 1980). Further south, near modern Durban, a transect from the coast into the interior around 800-1000AD would have shown near the coast Tonga (or Tsonga ancestors), then Proto-Sotho and finally Nguni on the highveld. It is assumed that the Sotho group, which certainly had incorporated the raising of cattle in its economy moved south along the escarpment which provided a variable environment and good basis both for agriculture and raising of cattle. The cereals cultivated may have been stocked in pits like in the preceding cultures and probably also cultivated *plectranthus esculentus* (African or Livingstone potato) for its food. Legumes must also have been cultivated.

### 3.3. Linguistic Changes after 800 or 900 AD

The Central Makhuwa of northern Mozambique and many groups south of the Zambezi preserve the linguistic heritage of the combined Kwale-Matola and Nkope-Gokomere streams, that means, lexemes that correspond to Eastern Bantu. As referred, only central Mozambique along the Zambezi shows an intrusion of the so-called *mulambe-munda-nyakoko*<sup>39</sup> axis which can also be traced through other lexemes and may be linked to the Luangwa and Lumbo traditions. This process of survival and new common terms for house, chief, cattle also seem to imply, that it is probable that major ethnic groups like Nguni, Sotho, Shona, Tonga and Tsonga were formed in the first millennium already, but were later subjected to movements in southern Africa.

The consolidation of the future Sotho separated Nguni from the different coastal Tonga (later Tsonga) groups. Nguni may also have been put in motion. The

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<sup>37</sup> Even the Libombo chiefdom mentioned in 1550 and 1727 still exists, in 2014, as the name of a sub-chiefdom in the southern part of the Marracuene district, close to the northern border of the city of Maputo.

<sup>38</sup> It is also known to have expanded into Mozambique at Holahola on the Save, Inhambane, Zimpeto north of Maputo.

<sup>39</sup> These are the terms for baobab, field, and crocodile that were introduced. It seems that the baobab tree became the tree sowed on the cemeteries instead of the fig trees that the previous populations had used. the fig trees are partly used by makuwa near Cuamba and south of the Save.

Bakgalaghadi also seem to have separated from early Sotho at this early stage and had no special relation with the Tswana until later.

In the South East African languages and Shona iron is called *nsimbi*, derived from a root reconstructed by Guthrie as *\*cimbi*. This could point to changes in the technique of iron production, starting to produce from richer ores and in smaller furnaces, favouring new centres like Phalaborwa that started to develop. Bryant 1950 speculated that the term might have to do with *nzimbu*, the marine snail shell that was to function as money near the Atlantic coast, e.g. in the western Kongo state.

Shortly afterwards the societies south of the Limpopo seem to have developed a new type of chieftainship, giving the title *khosi* (*nkhosi*, *kgosi*, *hosi*) to the chief, replacing *fumo* or lineage ruler that continued near the coast and among the Tonga. It cannot be said if this new title is related to the term *bukhosi* riches, wealth which is used by Tsonga, north of the Limpopo and possibly in Mapungubwe. There and in Great Zimbabwe the title used would be *mambo*<sup>40</sup>. The society of Mapungubwe was certainly a class society. Huffman (2007) postulates that there might have been competition over ivory and that this product, together with gold and slaves was traded at the coast probably at Chiboene near the Bazaruto archipelago. Some gold was also used internally at Mapungubwe or environs, Khami.

Other linguistic elements innovated by SE Bantu are *indlu* (for house, substituting *nyumba*<sup>41</sup>) and *inkomo* (*kgomo*, *homu*) cow.

(Since it was not possible to redraw or extract the map, I have taken the liberty to reproduce a page from Schadeberg 2002).

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<sup>40</sup> Note on political vocabulary: *nsindja*, *muzinda*, *musanda*, *msatta*, *moshate bandla* and *MBanza Kongo*, *hubo*

Mwene to Makhuwa . in the 19<sup>th</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> century the Maseko ngoni retained the title *inkosi*. The mfecane of the 19th century spread the of nduna, ntona, spread as loanword.

Sw. mji, kijiji is related to the word for homestead, extended family group muti, umzi

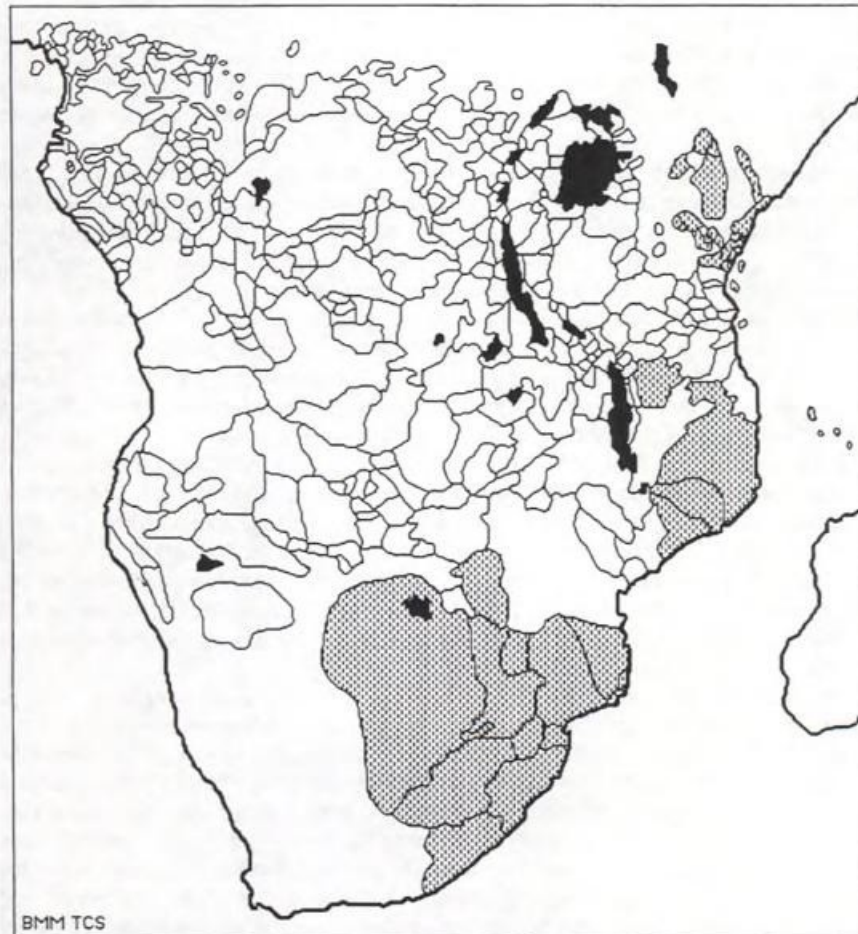
<sup>41</sup> Nyumba was retained in Swahili, Makhuwa (enupa), Tonga (nyumba)

the Democratic Republic of Congo (D30, part of D20); they owe their apparent grave differences from mainstream Bantu to intensive contact with non-Bantu languages rather than to their being one or more primary branches of Bantu.

### 3.2 Trees, waves and history

A good general introduction to the subject of this section is Nurse 1997b. But let us start with an example. Map 9.2 shows the spread of the locative suffix *\*-ini*. According to widely shared assumptions about language change and historical linguistics, the distribution of this morpheme should be an excellent indicator of genetic subgrouping.

The morpheme *\*-ini* is certainly an innovation and not a retention from PB, as evidenced by its absence from all central and western languages including the northwestern ones (zones A B C). As a morphological innovation it is less likely to be borrowed than words



MAP 9.2 THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE LOCATIVE SUFFIX *\*-ini*

Of the major southern African groups Shona share a number of characteristics with Sotho and Nguni with Tsonga. The clan system of the Tsonga and Nguni has some similarities and so have those of the Shona and the Sotho. The Tsonga and Nguni lexemes for *sclerocarya birrea*, an important fat and ritual beverage provider and those of most Shona and Sotho seem to confirm the groupings. These and other evidence suggested that the origins of the ethnic groups go back to the first millennium and that later migrations only brought minor modifications.

### 3.4. The Luangwa and Lumbo traditions

1085-1200 AD is the space covered by corrected C14 dates from Mikindani – Chikayowa for Lumbo tradition, although not identified as such by Kwekason (2007: 34-5). This seems to overlap with dates for the Luangwa tradition and favour the idea of a rapid expansion. Where were the migrants recruited, what was their organisation and what was their impact? The linguistic impact is more limited outside the Zambezi basin. But the names for baobabs and areas of concentrations of baobabs continue on to the north coast of Mozambique (Kumilamba).

Did any of the political formations of the Lumbo period survive to the 16<sup>th</sup> century and later? This not impossible. As mentioned above (2.3 , the massive presence of Lumbo registered by Adamowicz (1991: 88) Sinclair (1986) near Moçambique and Ibo, Mikindani in Tanzania (Kwekason (2007) Isendahl (1995) near Angoche possibly left an impact. There should have been some kind of political centralisation as the result of this invasion and in the absence of signs of other massive invasions it might have been Lumbo there could also have been invasions that resulted in conquests, but not modification of pottery production. It seems to have been the general rule in lineage systems. Between the Niassa and Kilwa there were in 1616 extensive territories subject to Muzura, head of the Marave state (see Gaspar Bocarro in Freeman Grenville 1966: 165-8). Near the coast he found villages burnt by the Zimba who had been present recently<sup>42</sup>.

According to Schoffeleers (1987) the state of Tondo/Lundo between Zambeze and Shire could have been the basis of the of the invasion of the Zimba ca. 1580-90. The clan structures of the Makhuwa of Nampula and Eastern Niassa, which also survived among assimilated Yao like for example Y.B. Andallah's family, is similar to the permanent relationships (perpetual kinship) established in the Lunda states (see Vansina and Cunnison 1950).. Either the producers of the Lumbo tradition of the 12th and 13th century or the Marave of the 16th and 17th century <sup>43</sup> left the dynasties that continued govern in the coastal area and in the interior. Possibly the queen of the "Namarrais" and another female dignitary established near Angoche (A.J. de Almeida 1887), Morimuno near Monapo, Mongalo in the south near Quelimane and the other bigger Mongalo (Mungalu) near the Rovuma , who is referred on Portuguese maps are part of these marave and pre-Marave movements. The duplication of names occurs several times in the Marave

<sup>42</sup> Gaspar Bocarro in Freeman Grenville ed. 1966: 167

<sup>43</sup> For Gaspar Bocarro Maravi was the name of the capital of Muzura (op. cit. 166)

and Makhuwa systems. An examples are Massache near Morrumbala and Mansanche near Mtengula ( ) The Mongalo state was established near the Rovuma and Cape Delgado. As “Mugau<sup>44</sup>” this name, subject to Swahili fonology survived between Cape Delgado and Mikindani in Tanzânia, which was 1800-1830 was often mentioned destiny of coastal ships from the Ilha de Moçambique. It is now a dialect of modern Swahili.

Close to the mouth of the Lurio river , near the bay of Massenzane viewed as a separte river south of the Lurio there seems to have been a trade station with a pagan chief of unknown name in the times of Ahmad ibn Majid (Khoury 1983). Santos reports a chief near Querimba, but the name Mpewe, might have been a title. At the site south of the Lurio much disturbed layers of Lumbo and Sancule were encountered showing mostly Lumbo and Sancule traditions, but also older Monapo (Madiquida 2007).

The Chewa of Tete and neighbouring Zambia of Chiefs Undi and Biwe are the results of the Marave invasion, if the reconstruction of the clan structure focussing on Phiri and Banda can be accepted. If the link with the Luangwa-Lumbo migrations can be established, we might be confronted, in the rudimentary data, with the result of complex telescoping covering the period 1.100-1580 in a similar cultral matrix. The extension of this period raises the hope that archaeological research might be able to establish subdivisions. Stratigraphic research or content analysis would be necessary.

### 3. 4. Conclusions

The Luangwa tradition presents a period of migration as demonstrated by Huffman in his studies from 1989. The links between Luangwa and Lumbo tradition are clear. The shapes and dates are close. Its seems that Luangwa migrations left linguistic traces, interrupting the lexeme distribution on the early eastern Bantu migratory route in the Zambezi region where we find munda, nyakoko and others, the elimination of the locative suffixe - eni, etc.

Moloko might be a mixture of Lwangwa and local elements from the lower Save and Zambezi river basin dislodged by the first Luangwa invasion to the Zambezi valley. The study of the Luangwa migratory current shows that the further we go, the more diluted are the linguistic impacts. In the case of the later Marave the remote centre may have been the same but it was rather a Chewa speaking or mixed group that arrived in the Mwera, Makhuwa and Makonde area. This is an argument against accepting Sotho and Nguni origins in present Tanzania. By the area between Tanzania and South Africa was occupied by warlike societies that would have left their imprint on migrants. The image of the sketch map in Huffman (2007: 154) is as if Blackburn had been parachute dropped around 1200 AD in Natal, avoiding Tsetse and war zones in the Zambezi valley and further south. Populations, possibly Tsonga groups, were suffering pressure in the Limpopo valley and even further south. This was due to the activities of the Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe systems around 1200-1300. Tonga were pressured to move south from around Chiboene to Inhambane. The only recorded

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<sup>44</sup> Mugau is the result of the elision of the -l- between two vocals in Swahili, and corresponds toa Mongalo, cf *kaango* from *kalango* (carinated pot), *kiatu* from *kilatu* (shoe, sandal).

migrations are that of the Tembe and Tonga subgroups like the Nyassengo and Nyamposse-Nyambe (near the present Inhambane) and Chopi group of Mokumbi (Mocumbi) which may have fallen in this time slot.

But there is a possible suitable substitute for Nguni in Blackburn and successors. Some Tsonga from the Limpopo seem to have moved south when pressed by Mapungubwe. Some sherds with irregular dot impressions were found near Mabalane north of the confluence of the Limpopo and Olifants. They are, of course, undated, and are similar and might also have come from people producing a pottery dating from the period after Moor Park (Huffman 2007: 156-7). By then we are close to the period when the Loyi conquered the Limpopo valley and adjacent areas and turned Tsonga and Chopi. But it could also be a sign of a Nguni incursion (cf. dating in Huffman 2007: 159 for Melora around 1680.)

## **4. History of population groups in Southern Mozambique during the second millennium**

### **4.1. Introduction**

The history of states and migrations in the second millennium has been to some degree recorded in oral traditions. If these traditions establish a tie between account of contact between two or more lineages or states we have the possibility to establish a wider territorial history and something approaching a useful relative chronology. Jaques *Swivongo swa Machangana* records a number of these tie-ins, a type of links which has been used systematically by some in oral history, e.g. David W. Cohen in *Busoga History*. Internal ties were used here in four more important cases. In the same number of instances it was also possible to bring in written outside sources for useful tie-ins and chronological depth.

One of the trends in population movements, as evident in dynastic traditions of origin in Mozambique, is from south to north or southwest to northeast. There are also several references to migrations from the north, or possibly northwest, mostly from the old Kalanga area southwards and eastwards.

There are several cultural groups in southern Mozambique, defined principally on the basis of mother tongues. Since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century most authors (Cabral 1910, Junod 1927, Rita-Ferreira 1982, etc.) distinguish the following four groups in the south:

(1)Tonga (Bitonga) of Inhambane, isolated remains of Tonga known as Ronga in the interior of Morrumbene and Massinga, (2) coastal Ndaue near Mambone, (3) Chopi, divided into five groups of dynasties of supposed foreign origin (4) Tsonga, formerly known to the Portuguese as "Landins", divided into Ronga (Rjonga) around the present capital Maputo, extending into South Africa, Changana<sup>45</sup> (also extending into South Africa in the 19<sup>th</sup> century) and Tswa (in Inhambane Province). The real number of Tsonga dialects (including Bila, Hlanganu, Djonga, Nwalungu, was higher, about 5 or 6, in addition to Kondé or Gondzze, who seem to be the only survivor of the original Tonga or Tsonga of Natal. Because of historical changes several of the old Tsonga dialects existing around 1880 like Hlaanganu have disappeared.

The individual groups each have their own linguistic and anthropological literature. They are not homogeneous, as especially research on the Chopi showed, starting probably with the works of H.Ph. Junod in 1927. Cabral (1910)

<sup>45</sup> A 19<sup>th</sup> century term derived from a new unit created by the Gaza state.



distinguished two Tswa or “Landins” immigrations in Inhambane. They seem to correspond partly to the two categories Vacumba (Vakumba) and Macomates or Landins that Bernardo Castro Soares had registered in 1729 (Liesegang 1990: 67-70). H. Ph. Junod was the first to focus in 1927 on several ethnic components among the Chopi: Old local inhabitants, Karanga (Thovele), Tsonga (Loyi), also Nguni. The names of some of the chiefdoms in the ethnic aggregates, had been registered from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Around 1560 Portuguese in the Gwambe chiefdom distinguished only Karanga immigrants and local “Butongas” (Vatonga living in Butonga) (cf. Fuller 1955, Khan 1995, Lanham 1955). They also used the locative Tongé (apparently from “Tongene”) or Ndonge with the Tonga plural *mindonge* to describe the part of the Tonga area conquered by the Karanga immigrants. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century more groups were noted. One was Guilundu, now regarded as an offshoot of the Khosa.

Some of the names (“Landins”=Tsonga, Tonga bitonga, berrongueiros-Ronga of Inhambane) were recorded in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries in the versions the Portuguese and the Dutch (Baatwa, Ronge, Unbai for Pai, a Sotho-group in South Africa) used them. The term *Vatwa* was used for the Nguni by the Tsonga. Their clicks were noted and the name even reinterpreted in contact with the Dutch at Delagoa Bay and transformed into Hottentots or “Olontontes” and used in trade pidgin for a century (to about 1825). Other names such as Changana (subjects of Sochangane ruling 1822-1858), Chopi (“bow-shooters”), Ndau appeared only in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as the result of political realignments and identifications and were slightly redefined in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For example, those who spoke the Chopi language retained that new term, and the southern Nwanati or Khambana (Mondlane) who had also been included among the Chopi, were subsumed into the Changana whose dialect they gradually adopted. The term Tswa was first recorded in writing the 1880s by the American missionary Ousley, but must have existed in the local languages before as place names show<sup>46</sup>. It was probably already used around 1760/70, but the Portuguese used the more general “landins”, or more specific terms like “bila” or “matives” (for Dzivi).

The first attempts at definition of dialects and classification of Tsonga were made by H. Berthoud in the 1880s, later to be followed by H.A. Junod. (Almeida Cunha, who also contributed elsewhere had also shown a passing interest in 1885). I. Schapera and van Warmelo in the 1930s opted for a half invented designation for the Thonga or Tsonga group. They introduced Tsonga (instead of Thonga used by H.A. Junod) although in Mozambique (but not South Africa) Tsonga was “occupied” already by the term the Tswa used for the Bitonga near Inhambane, a fact of little relevance in South Africa. Lanham (1955) discussed the distances between these languages, without attempting to reconstruct the history of these languages .

I selected here only a few of the recorded movements. Included are some of those which are important for the subject of “Tsonga archaeology” (Ohinata 2002) and the visibility of population movements. In addition, I refer to those near Inhambane in the 18<sup>th</sup> century that prove the existence and reality of population movements. For other earlier ones like that of the Ba-Shika and Kalanga and early Nguni movements the evidence is sketchy, but they are becoming so real that one would have to question whether there might also be some archaeological evidence elucidating us further. The same is true of Nguni traces in Tete and the eastern

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<sup>46</sup> *Gyibagavatswa*, “where the Vatswa dig clay” in the Mutamba valley north of Jangamo.

Mutapa state that might be traces of a mfecane around 1450 that contributed to the formation of the Mutapa state around 1450-1470<sup>47</sup>.

The dating of historical population movements before the 18<sup>th</sup> century is difficult but in some cases in the Limpopo valley a sequence can be established through tie-ins.

We start with states who according to their origins come from the highlands in the west and those who overthrew them like the Cawuke and then turn to those who had origins further south.

We refer to the state and lineage of Gwambe although it is presently archaeologically invisible but had possibly an important role in long distance trade before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, being quite well known in the interior possibly for this reason.

#### **4.2.1. A movement of Kalanga southwards to Delagoa Bay and transformations of the Bila?**

Jan van de Capelle in 1730 identified the origin of the Tembe south of Delagoa Bay explicitly in 1730 as having come from "Walunge" (Nwamalungo) north of Manhiça on the northern bank of the Nkomati bend (Liesegang 1987: 24). The adjoining coast was then, and is still known now, as Kalanga. Others like H. A. Junod gave the origin just as "Kalanga". This was also registered in 1909 by the administrators (Vianna Rodrigues in Ferrão 1909: 144, 145). It is still known nowadays, a hundred year later.

The northern neighbours of these Kalanga were the Bila. The Bila seem to have had a senior position in the Lower Limpopo valley. Sources of Dora Eardhy (1933: 6-7) spoke of a "Mambo" or "Rhe Mambo" in the area, who must have been identical with the Inhampura (Mhula) mentioned by Portuguese in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The use of this title, rather than *inkosi* or *hosi*, points to Kalanga or Shona<sup>48</sup>. It seems now almost certain that in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the area dominated by dynasties of Kalanga or Shona origin reached as far as the Limpopo and Olifants rivers. The question is, if at an earlier stage, say in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Kalanga reached as far south as the bend of the Nkomati, and if the language was also Kalanga or a Tsonga very much influenced by Kalanga. A possibility is that these Kalanga were eastern outliers of the Mapungubwe/K2 formation. There must have been a pre-Karanga population in the Nkomati and Limpopo valleys which probably was ancestral Tsonga, possibly influenced by their western Sotho neighbours. The distinction between Kalanga and Tonga north of the Limpopo in the 16<sup>th</sup> century suggests a non-Karanga language medium at the coast there too, which must have evolved into Ndonge or Chopi. But around Delagoa Bay ancestral Tsonga was probably already spoken at that period.

#### **4.2.2. A second movement southwards to Delagoa Bay and Swaziland? Origin of the "Macomates."**

The Simunye facies is probably a pottery of mixed origin, with some handles, lugs and occasional flat bases, and miscellaneous incised or narrow channelled decorations (Ohinata 2002). It was probably produced by people who participated in a 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century movement south along the coast that eventually reached

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<sup>47</sup> There are (2014) one or two small papers in preparation on this topic.

<sup>48</sup> This seems to have the interpretation too of David Beach (see map in Beach 19 )

Swaziland. Therefore it is suggested that the Mankomati domain in the Swaziland-Ndwanwe area was partly formed from refugees from Southern Mozambique who had absorbed cultural influences there. (See lists of loans in Lanham 1955). If they were refugees they might have been partly Tsonga. The Nkomati kingdom ended when the Dlamini started to expand parallel to Tembe, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

#### **4.3. Groups of Venda or Laute origin and other old groups, "Mahlangana".**

East of the Libombos we find a group, the Laute or Laudzi who appear in some traditions of the Magude district, like the Chivuri, Thovele, etc. According to Krige (1937) their main area was west of the Libombos where they seemed to have belonged to a pre-Lovedu stratum. In some versions of Mozambican traditions they are included among the Venda, not surprising, since Venda, "Vetsha" (or the Beja of the Portuguese) was a predominantly geographical term. It is difficult to fit them into a chronological framework. But they could be in part constituted by descendants of quite old inhabitants of the area (Loubser 19 and Huffman referred to them. In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century it was a geographical term).

Several oral historians such as the late pastor Daniel Nkonwana (Comuana), Solomoni Macuacua (in Pande, 1982) and A. Jaques 1982 spoke of a population, the Mahlangana, which had been inhabiting the areas of southern Mozambique later occupied later at unknown dates (between 1200 and 1450?) by Makwakwa, Mabyaya, etc.. The earliest source, J. van de Capelle in 1730, mentioned for the area of the Bay of Maputo three groups who descended from mountains in the west or southwest, called "baatwa". No previous inhabitants were then referred to.

#### **4.4. The Bashika or Basiga state: Those who had descended from the mountains**

The Arab pilot Ahmad ibn Majid, whose data go back to ca. 1475-1480, referred to Washika as the "best" of the Bazaruto islands (Khoury 1983: 80, verse 583). When the Portuguese explored the Mozambican coast around 1502-1510, they registered the "Great and Small Hucicas" [Vusikas], a group of islands which included Bazaruto and the islands in the delta of the Save river and the Macovane peninsula. (The latter was cut up and reduced by erosion and the last settlement there disappeared during the cyclone in 2000). The rivers flowing into Delagoa Bay received the names of the nearby states, lands the names of their owners and this also have been practiced with islands, resulting in the Vusika islands. Vu- (or Vhu-) is a Ndaou or Teve prefix for countries (or locative).

More than 350 years later St. Vincent W. Erskine who traveled repeatedly through the country in 1870-78 explained the meaning of "Basiga" as "those who had descended". (He also suspected the existence of Sotho)<sup>49</sup>. The Basiga were identified as good agriculturalists and predecessors of the Vilankulo or Mhandla in the Govuro-Vilanculos area. The term Xika was still current in Tsonga in the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century, but applying to the Mhlangana and Ngomana near Ressano Garcia (Jaques 1982: 75, 93, 98, 108, 109).

By 1500-1623 the dominant lineage in this area were the Sono, or Sono-Hlungwana. But is it possible that they were not the original dominating lineage possibly three centuries earlier. We also do not know where they descended from and whom they conquered or substituted near the coast. By 1760-1780 the Sono

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<sup>49</sup> I did not check the original hand written manuscripts, of which existence I only knew in 1982. Sotho might be a misreading from Sono.

had been transformed into a subject population, had dispersed or had fled to areas north of the Save river.

The finds from Manyikene seem to have more similarities with material from Southern Zimbabwe than local coastal ceramic traditions, possibly derived from a coastal Gokomere variant or facies, but others seem to be descended from a Zimbabwe variant.

#### **4.4.2 The Sono and their Cawuke (Chauke) successors**

In reports on oral traditions the Sono mentioned above were referred as Sono-Hlungwana since the research of Henri Berthoud ca. 1891 (Jaques 1982). According to a possibly relatively late source they had their origin in Xikundu (a site now identified as Makahane or Thulamela in eastern Venda close to the Libombos). They are also identified as Hlengwe, Vakumba and Vadzambala (cf. Jaques 1982: 120). Several references from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries permit to conclude that they dominated the area where Manyikeni and Chiboene were situated. A century later, in 1728-29, their lineage or chieftainship was divided into two branches, Sono and Old Sono (Sono Velho) and it is not clear, whether they still controlled the far interior. According to the traditions of the 20<sup>th</sup> century they lost their dominance to the Cawuke of Mantsena who would have governed in the 17 or early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Both the traditions of the Cawuke as well as that of the Sono link the loss of the chieftainship to handing over "fire" to the son of a man of the Cawuke clan and a Sono princess, daughter of Zinjhiwa (Jaques 1982: 17-18, notes Bannerman.) As referred to above (2.4) the fire is not just fire or the knowledge of firemaking, as implied by the story, but the royal fire, distributed as a prerogative by the chiefs, and which needed a retribution in terms of homages and tributes (*ku-luva*)<sup>50</sup>. Probably the area taken over included Xikundu (Chicundo) and Xikwalakwala. The Duma area in present day Zimbabwe also seems to have received a new dynasty in about the same period the Cawuke extended their domain (Beach 1980: 294-297, summarizing Mtetwa 1976).

Bannerman refers in fieldnotes from 1971 that some Hlungwana chiefs maintained themselves under the control of the Cawuke north of the Save river. Others stayed behind in the modern Massinga, Vilankulu or Inhassoro districts, but without any political influence. It is possible that the Gulube (Ngulube<sup>51</sup>) who have some sub-chiefs or lineage heads in Vilanculo and Inhassoro districts also belonged to this or even older earlier levels.

In 1730 Chauca (Cawuke) was referred to as dominating trade in the interior west of Inhambane. By mid-nineteenth century Xikwalakwala already mentioned, had become the center of the Cawuke lineage structure. Either internal dissent or foreign attacks had led to a dispersion of political power, limited in any case since ca. 1825 by Nguni presence. A subgroup, Xigomba, settled close to the Limpopo (Jaques 1982: 18). This is contrary to assumption by some authors who consider their presence as older.

#### **4.5. The Baloyi**

I considered the history of Baloyi, Ba-ka-Baloyi or Loyi a fascinating case because they are tied in with "Changamire" and "Gole" and Chopi history (H. Ph. Junod

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<sup>50</sup> The royal fire has a wider distribution in Mozambique. It exists even among the Yao, where the traditional taxes were called *camoto (of the fire)* for this reason.

<sup>51</sup> This clan could have been originally totemic and linked to an old Shona group.

1927, Jaques 1982: 125-129). Unfortunately the Chopi group referred to is that of the Nyantumbo-Zandamela-Mbanze clan group (cf. Junod 1927, Jaques 1982: 137), about which we do not seem to have any information in external sources before 1840, because they had few contacts with Inhambane and are not clearly identifiable in the records of shipwrecked Portuguese. Both the Loyi on the Mozambican upper Limpopo and lower Olifants were mentioned in 1729/1731 by two different sources, one from Inhambane and the other from Delagoa Bay. There was still a solid block of Loyi-chieftainships there in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For Bernardo de Castro Soares at Inhambane in 1729 they were "*Landins*", that is Tsonga, despite their tradition of origin, which links them to Changamire, generally seen as Shona (Jaques 1982: see below). The name Baloyi, referred to as "wizards" in 1730, is the Tsonga version of Rozvi.

When I first approached the traditions of this area the basic problem was to find out whether the Changamire referred to in the traditions as Gole, Gole-Ntsangamene and the like (cf. Jaques 1982:126, 77, 63) referred to the state of Changamire I around 1450-1500 or Changamire II around 1680-1700. Both seem to me to be linked, but their exact articulation and the nature of the Butua-Torwa state has been the subject of discussion (Mudenge 1974; Beach 1980). Beach centered his attention on the origins of Changamire II.

From the Portuguese perspective at Sofala and along the Zambeze there had been at least four Changamires: Changamire I, a "rebel" against Mutapa some time before 1505 (1460-90?), a Changamire mentioned in between 1510 and 1540 (Beach 1980) and Changamire II, the most important of which was Dombodombo, who drove out the Portuguese from the Plateau in 1694-5 and died shortly afterwards, leaving a state later to be transferred to Khami. The fourth are the Changamires governing in Gole, near modern Bulawayo. The third and fourth, who were seen as linked were seen as the main representative of the Rozvi in the older historiography and linked to many developments. They were supposed to have founded numerous dynasties from Teve to Madanda, facilitated a change of dynasty in Manyika and Venda (the Singo of Thoho ya Ndou), or to be identical to Murozi" in the traditions of the Lovedu, and Mamabolo (Krige, Murimbika 2006). Were it not for their language and inclusion into the Tsonga or Landins, the Loyi would have fitted neatly in this scheme of late conquest, which, however, showed some other signs of fragility. Thus the Moyo of Madanda under Nyamunda (near modern Machaze) were already present around 1510-15 in their area south of Sofala, and would thus be linked, if at all, probably directly or indirectly to Changamire I. (They seem to have had a link to the even earlier original founders of the Great Zimbabwe state.) Other groups (Lovedu, Mamabolo) south of the Limpopo might also have been established well before the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In the case of the Loyi it seems curious that a group of northern or Karanga [in modern terms: Shona] origin should already, some twenty to forty years after its presumed conquest of the area, be included in a different ethnic group, that of the "landins" or Tsonga. Already Rita-Ferreira (1982: carta 4) had opted for the 1500-1600 time span. Thus the impact of Changamire II east of the Zimbabwean plateau might be limited to Manyika (where his dynasty it is attested by two historical sources as having had collected taxes through Tumbare in the 1780s and 1790s ) and Lemba emigration and populations in a few other border states.

The Chopi branch left the common Loyi country, according to one source due to an attack by N'wa-Nkome (Jaques 1982: 137). This refers probably to Nkome, the

ancestor of the Khambana and Nwanati (Makwakwa, Mondlane, Manyika, cf. Jaques 1982: 24). The Nhlave or Hlabi, composed of over a dozen of clans also settled in the gap between the Loyi and the Mbandze-Nyantumbo. They stayed close to the Limpopo. Some of the Nhlave remembered fighting with the Sono and Nwanati and receiving land from the Novela. (Jaques 1982: ). This might have been at the turn from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore we would expect the Loyi group to have established itself in the area well before the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In the hypotheses I opted for the span 1400-1500.

Whichever the date, in 1729 we find Loyi and Sono attributed to different ethno-cultural and political groups. The Loyi are considered "Landins" invaders and the Sono as invaded, being part of the "*Vacumba*" (Soares de Castro 1729)<sup>52</sup>.

#### 4.5. The archaeologically invisible Gwambe

The name of "Gwambe" is relatively well known in the literature. There are at least four reasons for this: (a) the presence of Jesuit Missionaries there in 1560-61, the baptism of their chief and (b) a few later contacts by survivors of shipwrecks, on their way from Inhampura at the Limpopo mouth to Inhambane (c) the discussion about the continuity of this chiefdom which appears as subdivided into two in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century and was at the same location as that visited in 1560-61 (Fuller 1955, Liesegang 1990: 63-64). (d) The fourth reason is the fact that in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Tsonga refugees and immigrants into what was later the Transvaal and today Phumalanga and North Provinces of South Africa were referred as "*Magwamba*" or Makhoapa, which had historic- geographical and later ethnic connotations different from the original one. Gwamba was with Zavala the oldest known nucleus of the invaders in what was to become Chopi territory. It is a chiefdom whose "Karanga" origins were never in doubt. Only the actual date of immigration and real geographical origin was open to discussion. According to the missionaries the "father" of the chief governing Guamba in "Utongue" in 1560 would have come from "Ucalanga", the Karanga area dominated by the Mutapa state at the time of the Jesuits. But what if the immigrant was not the father, but an older ancestor? Was he related to the Mutapa of ca. 1450? Or to the Great Zimbabwe State further South? More recent oral tradition relates them to Mojaji Tovele or the Venda area. Might the real connection even go farther back, to 1200-1300, or to a border area of the Great Zimbabwe state which lost power to the Mutapa state around 1450? I assume that both the Loyi mentioned above and Gwambe were related to the ruling clan of the Great Zimbabwe State, but possibly different branches or lineages, being one of them, Changamire, known as "witches". The misunderstanding of the situation by the Jesuits who had been to Gwambe may have contributed to the execution of Silveira as "witch" in 1561. To Zavala, a neighbour of Gwambe, who already by 1500 must have been located somewhere around lake Poelela and possibly modern Quissico an origin similar to Gwambe is attributed (cf. Junod 1927, Fuller 1955, Matos 1972).

<sup>52</sup> In AHU, Lisbon. There exists a full copy made by Candido Teixeira in ca. 1965. This has some misreading for the names. I made a partial copy in 1971 which I took to Mozambique in 1977. A.K. Smith 1973:568 had confused Landins and Macomates mostly west of the Limpopo and armed with spears and shields with the peoples living in the Ndonge area, the later Chopi. They are not named by him. The careful reading of the copies permitted other conclusions.

The Gwambe of Donge (or ndonge, "Utongue") are today Chopi. But the Sotho and Venda in Transvaal did not distinguish between Chopi (Mindonge) and Tsonga, when the latter fled to the Transvaal around 1840. The groups arriving were mostly Nkuna and Loyi, and others from the mid-Limpopo. They were all classed as "Gwamba" or "Koapa", "Makhwapa" (Berthoud 1897). Is this a memory of an old political domain or just a geographical reference to an important intermediary on a trade route important in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century, possibly much earlier? Possibly it refers to a former sociopolitical situation.

The Gwambe were living in a geographical area different from that of the Sono, who may be considered linked with Manyikene. This was almost two hundred kilometers further north as the crow flies and dependent on a different port.

Neither the sixteenth century Gwambe capitals nor a pottery which could be attributed to this horizon have been located as yet. At present they are still archaeologically invisible, in the first instance because no sites have been found as yet.

### **3.6. Older and Younger" Nguni" (and Sotho?) origins of groups in Mozambique**

#### **3.6.1. The older Nguni (and Sotho ?) immigrants and the problems of population pressure**

The Nguni are an ethnic group now living mainly in the coastal areas of Southeastern Africa. I assume, as referred above, that they were originally, and partly later, in contact with both Khoe and San. The northern Nguni acquired at least three click consonants in their language from them, the Southern Nguni (Xhosa) have many more. In addition they took over essential elements of their house structures and the cattle economy. This was possibly in the first millennium AD. In the case of the Xhosa contacts with Khoe extending from the Cape continued until the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The early Nguni assumed an identity of herders different from the mussel and fish-eaters near the sea and maintained an avoidance of eating fish. There is also a group of Sotho known as Koni, the Sotho equivalent of Nguni, with the same fish taboo as the Nguni (Ellenberger, Bailey and Herbert 1995 etc.). It seems that the partly malaria-free environment and the small scale political structure, circumcision at a late age and formation of warrior age classes (a trait which they shared with the Sotho Tswana) made them candidates for predatory expansion. They entered Natal and other related groups may have participated in the formation of the Mutapa state ca. 1450. In 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century substantial groups of Nguni were still on the Highveld, where they were settling west of the present-day Swazi and were known as Ndebele or Tebele.

It seems that we have to count with a continuous population pressure coming out from the Nguni and Southern Sotho-Tswana areas of Southern Africa (in the period 900-1820). As referred to these areas had age classes, were conscripting boys and young men for automatic military service under the control of chiefs and local communities. The age classes and military service are one of the constitutive elements of predatory systems. Therefore it does not surprise that "Nguni" and "Sotho" pressure towards the north should have been repetitive in waves between ca. 900 A.D. and 1825, with ups and downs which link it to certain crises and structural changes, that we can designate as mfecanes.

A model proposed here is that we have to count with several successive movements of migrants, resulting from four or five series of regional outbreaks of crises. What we know that part of the ruling lineages governing in 1550 north of Delagoa Bay had originated in what was the Nguni area or "Baatwa", the land of Nguni or Khoesan, and that they had come in three waves, according to traditions collected in 1730. There is, however, no date for their arrival, except for the evidence, that most must have come before 1554. They set up a relatively stable pattern of lineage rule in small chiefdoms which survived until the 19<sup>th</sup> century and still exists in traces (Junod 1927, Smith 1973, Liesegang 1987)<sup>53</sup>.

The apparent stability of the groups living between the sea and the Lebombo between 1730 and 1750, with a reference even to the Dlamini somewhere at the southern end of the Lebombo mountain chain leaves two possibilities: Maputyo's conquest of the Maputo/Usutu river valley and other conflicts in the Smaller Libombo or "Insanguano" [Hlanganu?] mountain region in the 18<sup>th</sup> century really produced more refugees than presumed or that there was another important conflict area on the upper Nkomati or even further away (Pongolo) which had an impact. They may have included structures and movements described by Delius (2008) for the Lydenburg area and movements to northern Swaziland seem to have been responsible. One of the texts published by A. Mukhombo and dating from the 1920's actually mentions Ngwane as origin of migrants to Inhambane in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Mukhombo 1955). "Ngwane" and Middelburg was also part of Dzivi traditions as told in 1969. The demise of the Inthovele state, leaving independent the Pedi (another version of the name Venda) was also shortly after 1727 and leaves Machicossers and Chiremandele, two groups mentioned in Mahumane's description, unaccounted for (Liesegang 1978).

The Ngwane of Dlamini, Transvaal Ndebele area, wars of the older Pedi kingdom in the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century all might have exerted some influence. The traditions of origin of the chiefdom of the Mpfumu, Mazwaya Libombo and Matsolo group of chiefdoms all point to an origin in the South or Southwest interpreted as Nguni (Baatwa area), but at a much earlier stage. However, in the case of the last Mazwaya/Cherinda-wave, on the basis of pottery shapes and terminology in the central Tsonga dialects Gaza, one could postulate Sotho influence for Mazwaya and others. Manhiça (Manyisa) also seems to be part of the Libombo group.

We already referred to the Khosa as an example to growth and dispersion in different periods attested from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards in the Tsonga area. It is a growth similar to that of tulip or hyacinth bulbs. There was a growth and dispersion period prior to 1620, another in the Limpopo valley in the 17/18<sup>th</sup> and another in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. One may assume that Khosa and related groups who also claimed a southern origin, did arrive at least by the 16<sup>th</sup> century, if not earlier, around 1450, because one of their eastern outlier of a first phase, Guilundu was established in his later home area in 1622 (Matos 1974.)

Possibly at the same time or somewhat later came the Hlabi and Nkuna group, who seem to have separated the Mbanze Nyatsumbo Zandamela Chopi group from the Loyi and the Makwakwa from the Maluleke.

Berthoud linked the Nkuna, who were counted by some among the Hlabi, to the eastern Sotho group of the Pai (Mbayi) and this puts a question mark to all of the groups who have like them the fig tree of Mbingadzi (*nkuwa wa Mbingadzi*) in their traditions of origin. This includes the Nwanati or Khambana. The Makwakwa

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<sup>53</sup> Even the Libombo chiefdom mentioned in 1550 and 1727 still exists, in 2014, as the name of a sub-chiefdom in the southern part of the Marracuence district.



may also be linked to this group, although there are arguments for attributing the Makwakwa Khambana to a different movement. According to traditions reported by the Kriges the Nkuna were of Nguni origin, but this has been disputed, as referred above.

#### **4.6.2. The "Landins or Macomates of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and undated predecessors**

The only movements which can be dated to some degree to the 18<sup>th</sup> century are those of the Bila, Dzivi, and Nkumbe, which established a complex pattern of dominance near the coast in the hinterland of Inhambane.

Before that at uncertain dates the Langa had established themselves in the southern part of the Chopi area. They claimed Nguni origin in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. There were at least another three Nguni groups between Chidenguele and Quissico, the Gune, Ndengo -Nkawu and Nhakutowu. They are all linked to the myth of hunters with iron spears who migrated into the area to hunt elephants. Their area of distribution is interrupted by the coastal end of the Loyi-Inhantumbo corridor. The Langa border on the Loyi-Inhantumbo corridor and may have lived in the area before the Loyi expanded. For the Langa the only clue to date them comes from their name. The Langa group seems to be linked to Langa migrations in South Africa. The dates at present available cover a wide range (Huffman 2007). It is possible that they started with the second mfecane around 1450. Their modern neighbours in Mozambique were the Nyoko and Masiye, early offshoots of the Khosa, as well as the Mondlane, possibly an offshoot of the Makwakwa, whose age may approach that of the Khosa.

The advance of Bila or Bilankulu (Vilanculo) and others to the area between the sea and Manyiken between 1750 and 1780 must have cut short possible ambitions of the Cawuke in this direction. The presence of clan names from the south like Chirindza (from Manhiça in the South), Gwambe (from Inharrime) among the Vilankulu, the establishment of various groups of Chopi (with a second Quissico/Xisiko north of Morrumbene, Matimbi near Homoine) suggest that these movements combed up the Chopi country, where some new groups (like the Mavila also a Bila group, at Nyamavila and the Nyakutowu, southwest of Zavala) settled. The Dzivi (from Ngwane) managed to push the Bila from the Limpopo valley further to the northeast. The Bila seem to have dominated the hinterland of Inhambane near Maxixe and Morrumbene only for about 15 years.

We may thus postulate about three successive movements in less than half a century, possibly culturally slightly distinct in terms of pottery identity. But only near Mutamba, Nyamavila and Nguzeni do we have some evidence of a single pottery tradition. The later movements apparently left many of the structures of the chiefdoms untouched, but included uprooted families mentioned above.

This complex of movements may have started as a process of war and predatory expansion in the southern part of Tsonga territory, or even Nguni territory, but transformed into a process of state building once the Incomati and Limpopo valleys had been reached.

#### **4.6.3. The Mfecane conquest and the 1821-27 formation of the Gaza state**

The mfecane movement was different from the previous movements in so far as it had eliminated the segmentary character of the war process in several stages around 1790-1820. It started as a result of wars between several minor states with

age class structures for youth and men between 15 and 40 years of age.. The Ndwandwe state whose center was inland somewhere near the southern end of the Libombos had established a pattern of alliances through marriage, homage with a large number of neighbouring communities, including the Swati of Sobhuza. The competing Mthetwa, closer to the coast, whose state was centralized by Dingiswayo (ca. 1800-1819) was taken over by the military commander Shaka Zulu in about 1820. Dingiswayo had apparently found a system of mobilizing and controlling manpower in a more efficient way. They managed to scare and rout enemy forces and maintain their own forces mobilized for a longer period, cultivating their own food and herding cattle. Therefore the Mthetwa-Zulu state eliminated most of the Ndwandwe hegemonic structure in 1820-24, obliging most of its commanding groups to flee in 1821-1824, incorporating population and warriors, crushing a last attempt of resistance of the dynasty in 1827. Only the Swati survived and confirmed their independence (Bonner 1983). But the Mabudu or Maputyu of Makhasane and his grandson Nozingili or Ngwanazi (see genealogy above) were partly incorporated into the Zulu hegemonic system. The Zulu state combined the strong components of the predatory system with a centralized structure. Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe may have had a similar structure, with outlying tributary regions near the coast. When the centre was eliminated, the frontier regions survived with their chiefs.

The main movements of the Mfecane in southern Mozambique comprise some distant interference by Zwide, the dispossessed Ndwandwe king, who had also fled with some of his sons and may have died around 1823-25 on the upper Sabie. Therefore Wright (2008) correctly speaks of a Ndwandwe state in exile. Almost all the offshoots of this group were later known by their neighbours as Mazithi, or people of Zwide<sup>54</sup>. More relevant than Zwide for the south and other parts of Mozambique are movements by four different groups headed by Ngwana Maseko, Nqaba Msane who established himself in the Chipinge area of Zimbabwe around 1826 for 10 years<sup>55</sup>, and Zwangendaba Jere and Sochangane whose arrival around Delagoa Bay can be dated to June 1821. Ngwane and Nqaba passed the south of Mozambique without much action. They were only remembered in Sabie and Magude<sup>56</sup>. Ca. 1826-1827 Zwangendaba and Sochangane split in the Limpopo valley after a violent conflict of their followers. Zwangendaba followed Ngwane and Nqaba towards the Venda and afterwards crossed the Limpopo. Did he consider himself as overlord of Nqaba and Ngwane and was then rebuffed? Ca. 1835-7 Sochangane also moved north and evicted Nqaba from Mussurize, where he had been for about ten years and incorporated the inherited local population as Ndau. After the return of Sochangane from Mussurize to modern Chaimite in 1839 Nkuna and some Baloyi found refuge in Transvaal and the Makwakwa chiefs near Inhambane.

Unfortunately for the historical archaeologist it has not yet been established whether the central Ndwandwe of 1820 used the type of pottery which was considered as typical northern Nguni or Zulu by the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, namely

<sup>54</sup> More confusing is the fact that the Gaza Nguni people were known in Inhambane ca. 1840-1870 as Manhombozes (Ma-Nyombose). The Nyombose of Jobe were eastern neighbours of the Ndwandwe (Rita-Montanha 1858, Bryant 1929, Wright 2008).

<sup>55</sup> According to Bryant 1929 Nqaba may have been a latecomer and have left the Zulu territory only in 1824.

<sup>56</sup> Silva in Ferrão 1909: 84 and Grandjean 1899

almost biconical black burnished beer pots, possibly fired in a reduced atmosphere (Lawton 1967, Liesegang 1976). Other modern pottery from the area also has lozenges and is distantly related to the Simunye tradition (Ohinata 2002). The houses constructed by the Ndwandwe in Mozambique in 1890-95 were not of the round beehive type according to the Zulu or even Swazi royal pattern, but made up of a very low cylinder topped by a conical roof almost reaching the ground. Their pottery may have been different also.

The conquest of the Gaza fraction of the Ndwandwe established a new lineage state, which I sketched in 1982. Its main centres were in "Bilene", in the Limpopo Plain (Chiduachine (ca 1825-35), Chaimite (1839-1858)<sup>57</sup>, later (1889-95) in the Mondlane and Makwakwa territory of Mandlakazi and Chibuto and in Mossurize from 1835 to 1839 and 1862 to 1889. The outlying settlements were visited by tribute collectors in the dry season. The tribute collectors being often assimilated elements from the local populations (Erskine 1890). Thus in the capitals much local pottery was used (cf. Liesegang 1974a).

#### **4.7. Note on Massingir and middle Limpopo Pre-mfecane Tsonga and Nguni pressure, Macomates and Loyi and Venda remnants, etc.**

As we advance from the old floodplains around present day Chokwe and Guijá to the west the population density diminished. In the flood plain near Chokwe there were populations known as Khosa-Xikhotana. The Chambal considered related to them seem to have a presence which might go back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century or earlier. They now adjoin a group known as Nhlave, including Nhlongo, Makhamu, Maswanganye (Jaques 1982:95) and others which may be of the same age (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century), but could also be younger. They are generally considered of southern origin. The problem is how to date their possible immigration, which seems to have separated the Valoyi of the interior from the Mbandze-Nhantumbu cluster near the coast (if this was not already the work of the Nwanati) and the Nwanati near Chibuto from the Maluleke on the upper Limpopo.

The area of Massingire belonged to the Ngoveni or Ndzudule clan in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. (The name Ndzudule appears as Donduli in Erskine (1868/1890)). Around 1823-5 they were so loyal to Soshangane or Manukuse, the Gaza king, that they were later treated as allies rather than Tonga subjects (Erskine in Liesegang 1968: 244). Massingire, which gives the name to the District is actually a sub-clan of the Ngovene (Jaques 1982: 94). Their neighbours were in the 19<sup>th</sup> century a subgroup of the Valoyi, the Mongwe of Mpondzwana (or Mbonduene, cf. Jaques 1982: 77-78). The Ngovene were of southern origin.

When dealing with the data for a first time we have the problem of telescoped traditions and separating Nguni of 1860s -70 from migrations in 1580s 1600 and possibly earlier. The area has checkered origins in the Libombo. Thovele and Thovolo lineages mixed with others of apparent southern origin (Mathye, etc.). The Laudzi, Laute are possibly pre-Thovele or pre-Rozvi elements in this area (Loubser and Huffman 2007 referred to them)..

As Nguni-Tsonga elements progressed northwards in the 18<sup>th</sup> century or earlier Kalanga elements were engulfed but not completely eliminated. From Mabila in Sabie, Chiburri (Chivuri) in Magude elements of northern (or "Venda") origin were preserved.

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<sup>57</sup> There are some pottery traces at Chaimite, partly destroyed by road building and erosion.

The invaders north of the Limpopo were identified as Macomates or Landins. The Macomates were sometimes identified as people living near the Nkomati river. But there is the possibility that the name of this river was derived from the people living there, whose area seems to have extended further south, to south of the Pongolo river. If they were an older historical group they were not necessarily unilingual or of typical Nguni culture only.

#### **4.8. Language change north of the Olifants and Limpopo**

As regards the language situation in the area north of the Limpopo in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> century two views are possible:

One view assumes that the group called "Vacumba" (VaNkumba?) in a Portuguese source from Inhambane (Bernardo de Castro Soares 1728) which included the Sono, but also the mysterious "Golle"<sup>58</sup> which may have been Changamire II at Khami, were already in part Tsonga speaking or bilingual and that the language change from a Tonga or coastal Shona to Tsonga/Tswa occurred only in the coastal areas of Inhambane around 1740-1775.

The other view assumes a far more radical change in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the area north of the Limpopo, assuming that the Cawuke state combined lineage state and predatory expansion and eliminated or engulfed (like in the case of Shilowa) "Kalanga" traces from its territory. Other "Landim" or Tsonga groups may have done the same lower down in the Limpopo basin<sup>59</sup>.

That some change took place is suggested by change in the form of auto-identification. In 1555-1580 a chief at the mouth of the Limpopo river was identified as Inhampura and in the 20<sup>th</sup> century as being of the va-kwa-Mhula, with a drop of the syllable Nya- which is still current further north in clan and local names, and transformation of -mp- to -mh-.

The only remnants of the pre- 18<sup>th</sup> century situation would have been the BaNgumbi of Shilowa or Thovolo in the Libombos south of the Singwedzi river who spoke "Kalanga" with their northern neighbours<sup>60</sup>.

The advance of the Macomates-fraction of the Tsonga at the cost of the "Vacumba" was not an isolated process. It is paralleled west of the Libombos and on the plateau west of the escarpment by an advance of Sotho<sup>61</sup> in what is now South Africa leaving as only remnant the memory of northern or Kalanga origin of some dynasties like that of the Lovedu, Mamabolo, Khaha. One or two Sotho groups akin to the Khutswe, Pai or Pulana may even have reached southern Moçambique, intermingling with the generally dominating pressure of groups of Nguni or "Twa" origin.

The Gaza conquest during the mfecane introduced a new court language, northern Nguni close to Zulu, which spread more quickly among the male population

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<sup>58</sup> List quoted in Liesegang 1990:69. Golle would be a reference to a lineage linked to the state of Gole or Goromukuro linked to the Changamire I and Changamire II states, whose headquarters must have been in the 18<sup>th</sup> century around Khami and Danangombe. Five of the "Vacumba" chiefs, namely, Hambaloane, Mossuana, Chullo, Mocangalla, Jandul have not yet been identified. "Mendane" refers probably to Mbendzane close to the Save river. It is possible that most of the unidentified were ousted partly by the incoming "Landins and Macomates", including Cawuke and Hlabi.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. references by Samora Mukhavele in the Cota Manuscript (ca. 1940).

<sup>60</sup> Berthoud in *Bull. Missionnaire* V: 11 (1884-5) quoted in Korfmann et al. 1986: 52. The question is whether "Vacumbas" and "BaNgumbi" go back to the same root and have the same meaning.

<sup>61</sup> Even intermingled by some Transvaal Ndebele.

(Hughes 2006: 25.) Court Nguni was not reproduced both by Ndaue north of the Save and Tsonga and Nguni families during the colonial period, but left a number of loan words.

The impact of Gaza implantation near Mandlakazi in 1889 was the disappearance of the old Khambana dialect close to Xitswa (with *gambo* for *djambo*, *kuga* for *kudla*,<sup>62</sup> etc.) and the introduction of Changana to Eastern Chibuto and western Mandlakazi districts.

## **5. The Visibility of states, ethnic units, rural cultural communities**

### **5.1 Definition and problems**

"Ethnic interpretation" etc. is the attempt to make sound inferences from the distribution of archaeological traces left as to the existence of past political, ethnic and other structures. There is the visibility of settlements, graves and sanctuaries, industrial sites, caches of objects and the visibility based on inferences based on mapped distributions of traits, such as decoration motives and techniques, shapes and types of vessels. The most recent pottery types can be associated with a terminology of pot types found in the ethnographic record which may be a further trace of evidence. The distribution of characteristics (pot shapes, decorations, vernacular designations of pot types) can be mapped and result in distribution patterns.

What do the distribution patterns reflect: states, ethnic or linguistic groups, states, societies (groups of interlinked local communities), cultural historical links? In many cases only the latter. What is a "tradition", a pottery, a ware, and what does it stand for in terms of cultural, socio-economic and political realities? Huffman (2005:50, 2007: 400) suggested that the known distribution of the relatively short-lived Mapungubwe pottery (ca. 1220-1300) reflects the size of the kingdom, suggesting that it had about 30.000 square kilometers, or an area almost filling a circle of about 200km in diameter. But what about political ties? Huffman had a visible capital site to start with. And what about invisible political ties extending to a larger area? They would extend the states at least five to 10 times (Huffmann 2007: map p. 400 figure 21.6). We could use the 19<sup>th</sup> century Gaza or 1727 Thovele state as models. Are early Iron age farming community cultures like Matola, Lydenburg, Eiland (cf. Morais 1988) also remains of states or just ethnic groups with segmentary structure? Or does pottery reflect predominantly local community with some regional ties, a local economy, where women have a large share? Rouse (1986, 1988) after almost four decades of experience of working with pottery assumed that some population movements could be inferred. States might be a reflection of political relations and military power, where men have a larger share and therefore be in a different realm from the pottery of women and communities.

### **5.2 Visibility of communities, production, use and trade in pottery**

We know that pottery would be mostly produced by women, to be used locally. In this case the standards of beauty, appropriate shape, categories of functional types of the producers are also that of the users. Men are served from big and small beer pots and appreciate their beauty. Many men also had smaller drinking vessels and this possibly had some implications for the shapes. The egalitarian pressures of local societies in many parts of Mozambique meant that pots were shaped according to traditions and standards of the local community and few individual deviations were tolerated. Therefore the pace of innovations for some pot types

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<sup>62</sup> meaning sun and to eat respectively.

may have been set by hegemonic groups or elites, when these arose, but also technical necessities, e.g. when newly introduced rice or maize had to be prepared. Certain types of maize need grinding and there is a special maize grinding vessel (*lehis*) introduced between the 18<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Rice in the coastal area of the Ronga of Maputo- Marracuene and Tonga of Inhambane is often cooked in carinated pots, which may need a lid, and sauces to go with rice are prepared in a wide flat carinated pot, uniformly called *kalango* (or sw. *kaango*) on the East Coast and may actually have been diffused, in ways Gengenbach (2005) described in one case. Food bowls are not part of all pottery spectra.

In the predominantly patrilocal systems of marriage and the place of marriage to establish lineage networks to be used in times of need, women may marry into different ecological environments, sometimes twenty - thirty km from their natal homes. They also accompany their family group when war forces them to flee and were objects of raiding and capture, sometimes being moved for hundreds of kilometers to different communities. After the incorporation of captive women into groups of marauders they may continue to produce a mixture of pot shapes influenced by the forms they used to produce and utilized in their home communities. But their low status would lead them in most cases to adopt the standards of the community they were recruited and married into.

This might make less impact on cultural borders. In some cultures we find even gendered pottery prestige goods, exhibited e.g. at the back of the huts which have a tendency of super-ethnic distribution in cultural areas. Women thus may need water storage and transport pots, storage pots for cereals and other goods, possibly also pots as a sign of prestige. Men have their special beer pots, which may accompany them to their graves. Whenever centers of production appear, or different ethnic groups cohabit closely, pots may cross ethnic borderlines and appear in use in households of groups different ethnically from the producer. This also happens in periods of migration and search for refuge.

There was only one group in the larger area, the Lemba, which showed (in the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries) some specialization as metal workers and potters, but we do not know if this pattern extended into Mozambique and if they produced a variety of shapes according to the preferences of their customers.

The spread of cultural symbols is less well attested. But the buying and of Zulu beer pots by Tsonga and Swati has been observed.

Whenever a pottery tradition (or any cultural tradition) covers a very wide area conservative backwaters may develop. This can also be observed in two cases in Mozambique. One used beer pot acquired in 1969 north of Catuane (among the local Ronga), made possibly around 1950, still had vertical shell impressions on the rim which was apparently a common decoration a hundred years earlier in a much wider area, but was not in use in Marracuene around 1960-70 (Liesegang 1976: 263, fig 3c, 268, fig. 4). The pottery center Marracuene may have been more innovative, but also have had some Sotho immigrants before the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

### **5.3. The meaning of the distribution clusters of wares, facies in Zimbabwe, South Africa and Mozambique**

Various publications such as Swan (1994) Huffman (2007) show distribution of early to middle iron age facies, formerly called pottery wares, or traditions such as Gokomere, Gumanye, Maxton, Coronation, Sinoya. Their area of distribution often has diameters of 200 to 400km. They may have been something more than just farming communities. What held them together? Common origins? Ecology? What

was the level of regional and local exchanges? Where was the pottery made? They seem to be cultural communities, possibly often divided into several smaller lineage states, but with sufficient intergroup communication to maintain a stylistic unity.

In southern Mozambique near Chiboene we encounter two subsequent fazies that are connected to the Swahili group, the TIW and carinated pots (Sinclair 1982) and the Sancule ware (Ekblom 2004 ). The older TIW has apparently not yet been mapped north of the Zambezi, but Sancule which has its type site there and many occurrences. Mohoro seems to be synonymous. There were also local raised pattern wares (Dickinson) still produced in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but it may be said that most Swahili traces disappeared in the 19<sup>th</sup> century or succumbed to general trends of change which affects communities from Querimba, Angoche and Sofala. Their pottery is still similar, undecorated but not very similar to the types produced 200 or 300 years ago.

#### **5.4. The distribution of small lozenges**

Relatively small lozenges or spaced parallelogrammes (Ohinata 2002) were registered mostly on sites from the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the triangle between the Limpopo and Inharrime (Mahuntse's fort), Alto Changane, Pafuri, Eiland, and between the Lower Limpopo and Incomati (Macia- Magude, Kurumane , etc., cf. Korfmann et al 1987: 15, Liesegang 1974a/b). To these Ohinata added sites in Swaziland and on the Sabi river (Ohinata. 2002: 33, 36-37) It has not been possible to check if it occurs on older Dzivi and Vilankulu sites in Morrumbene, Massinga and Vilanculos districts or all older Cawuke sites The sites referred in Korfmann et al. are biased towards 19<sup>th</sup> century sites because they are the result of visits of historical sites. At present the oldest come from the sites in South Africa (Maputaland) and the Eiland middle assemblage (Ohinata 2002), whose 10<sup>th</sup> century date seems somewhat early. Spaced motifs on the shoulder appear recurrently in a number of earlier traditions apparently since the middle Iron Age (Huffman 2007: ). On sites near the coast in the Khambana khokholos they often seem to be combined with more complex combination of motifs (examples see Liesegang ....).

Shell stamping in general is partly a technical category. In recent pottery in Senegal, West Africa, shell stamping can be found too and there was certainly no cultural contact between West and Southeastern Africa, nor probably a continuity from certain phases of the Early iron Age of the Monapo tradition to the Simunye time level. Shell stamping has a limited presence and Inhambane (diagonal stamping on the rim at Guiviga south of Inhambane near Jesuit mission in a way similar to that still practiced at Furvela), but appears in large quantities in the Chopi, central Tsonga and Ronga areas, as well as at Simunye. It may have been partly diffused from one group to the other.

The origin and distribution of lozenges (and probably shell stamping ) characteristic of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century khokholos of the Manjacaze area (cf. Liesegang 1974b) could partly be explained by reference to predatory expansion, but the process may have been more complex. At present it is still inadequately documented.

#### **5.5. What do pottery traditions or form complexes of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> stand for?**

A systematic recent survey of Inhambane province and a careful documentation of recent pottery body shapes, functional types, terminology and decoration in Southern Mozambique does not produce distribution patterns which fully reflect ethnic borders or borders of self-identification, which in modern times are often based on language and regional origin. Some borders such as those between Swati and Ronga and Tswa and coastal Ndau at Mambone are visible, but differences between Chopi and Tonga of Inhambane seem to be virtually non-existent, and in the small Tonga area of Inhambane there is heterogeneity, for there are two traditions. The survey of pottery around the Bay of Inhambane started in 1971 and finished 2002-04 showed that the old Tonga (Bitonga) ethnic group with a pottery centre in the Mutamba valley and some dispersed production around Furuvela and the Nyanombe valley does not have a uniform pottery. The Furuvela pottery about forty km north of Mutamba has incised triangles on the shoulder, which also occur occasionally on pottery from Guifutela on the western bank of the Mutamba river, but not on the eastern bank, where the impact of mid-18<sup>th</sup> century Tswa invaders was probably strongest. The tempering at Mutamba with ground potsherds is the same as practiced in one variant of local Gokomere (Korfmann et al. 1987: 47-48), but modern pot types and rims seem to be of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Tswa invaders.

Some Tsonga dialects like Rjonga share part of their technical pottery vocabulary with Sotho, for example pot types (*hotyo/hotso*, *xilalelo/selalelo* for the pottery centre of Marracuene). This may be the result of a later intrusion or remains of a pre-13<sup>th</sup> century continuum. Here the element of separation seems to be the immigration of the Khosa and later groups like the Maswanganye (probably in the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century) that introduced new types in shape and name. The research by Heidi Gengenbach in 1995, published in 2005 in her impressive multi-media e-book in a well elaborated chapter on pottery ("everyone has her own hand: pottery as autographed memory") neatly adds up with the pottery spectra in Liesegang 1976 (which she did not use). There is now much evidence on trade or exchange in pottery being traded in the region, also over ethnic borders and innovation and differentiation between and inside linguistically closely related groups.

There are considerable differences between the centers of Marracuene (near Maputo) and Xihlangu near Macia, both in the Tsonga area. It is possible that the Marracuene had been taken over by Sotho speaking migrants before or in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (and from there influence extended to Manhiça). The Xihlangu<sup>63</sup>, Nguzeni, Nyamavila and Mutamba production centers, on the other hand, were founded or taken over by different immigrant Tsonga groups in the 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century, or modified their production as a result of the conquests. Comparison showed that some of the pots types produced there retained the names introduced by the immigrants. The Marracuene, Nguzeni and Mutamba centres incorporated the carinated cooking pot probably associated with the cooking of rice, practiced near the coastal centers. The immigrants may also have adapted to local use, e.g. at Marracuene also certain forms of shell stamping which are absent at Mutamba.

Thus there is a possibility that the distribution patterns of pottery shapes as they existed in mid-20<sup>th</sup> century reflects also traces of migrations during the last 250 to 600 years and not primarily a linguistic distribution pattern that has partly a greater age. This came as a surprise, when re-evaluating the evidence. It now seemed that invasions or displacements of fractions only of larger population

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<sup>63</sup> According to Gengenbach 2005 near Magude was another centre of production which seems to have been influenced by the Simunye tradition.



groups, and their reorganization, such those that had occurred around Macupulane (Nguzeni) east of Mandlakazi had left some impact on the spectrum of decorations and body shapes (but not so much on the terminology of pot types). We do not have ethnic traditions, but traditions of pot-makers that formed around areas with suitable clay. State and pottery very rarely seem to go together in the larger empires, but some direct and indirect interaction with the political sphere and identities is possible. The transfer of more than 10.000 Ndaus or more to the South in the Gaza state, where they settled partly near the Gaza capital, periods of warfare in 1889 and 1895 and 1897 seem to have had a certain impact around Mandlakazi and in parts the Limpopo valley. The incised lozenge impression tradition was given up and criss-cross incised bands, standing triangles etc. appear on the shoulder pottery for a period of about two generations or fifty years. Then they suddenly disappeared around 1940. Thus it seems that the women in the Ndaus population displaced in 1889 and again after the conquest in 1895 produced pottery at a larger scale and even managed to impose their standards of decoration near Manjacaze (Mandlakazi) in the South. This seems to indicate that pottery can change even when a large part of the population, the consumers, did not move. In this case there were political processes in the Gaza state and possibly socio-economic pressures in early colonial society which influenced the process. But by 1940 the imported patterns had collapsed and the old tradition had not reappeared. Without relatively well established historical information one could never have established this interrelation. Thus it seems that events close to and linked to the demise of the Gaza state and realignments under a new colonial regime became marked more clearly in the pottery sequence than the beginning of the Gaza state 70 years earlier. (In addition in the 1940s wheel thrown pots of a new shape introduced by the Portuguese substituted partly the locally made water transport pots but not the domestic containers).

A simple straight-forward "ethnic" interpretation of pottery traditions or wares over periods of four to six or more centuries should be avoided, but in some cases warranted (e.g. Mambone?, Magude *khuvana* (water pot) profiles Gengenbach 1995 and Ntshekane cf. Huffman 2007: 308). While at the predatory invasion stage original elements may have been produced and reproduced, interaction of the migrants with their neighbours and original owners of the ground seems to have led to changes in subsequent periods. Thus about 200 years after the migration period the northern Hlengwe in Eastern Zimbabwe as well as near Jofane on the Save in Mozambique seem to have reverted to, or adopted, a style closer to that of their neighbouring Ndaus (Lawton 1967: fig. 55-59; Blesse in Bautz et al. 1999: and fig. on. p. 163).

Not every innovation and break of traditions was necessarily effected in the context of major population movements. Not only in Mozambique but also elsewhere conquests by foreign powers and internal change of ideologies and values could contribute to the end of a tradition. There are also other processes of assimilation by neighbours. The Hlengwe north of the Save are still residing in the areas they occupied in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. But they do not have a pottery of their own any more. Most of the Chopi continued at Macupulane (Nguzeni) but they started to apply different decorations after 1900 and 1940. Some change was also described for Magude by Gengenbach (2005). Moving minority population groups thus can take their standards with them. If they have a certain prestige, these can be imposed on local population. The new standards may be only relatively short

lived, to go by 20<sup>th</sup> century developments. But this may be a process overlaid by a different system.

## **6. Conclusions, Hypotheses and suggestions.**

### **6. 1. Summary and Conclusions**

1. This article centered on political history and tried to link it to specific cultural aspects, especially pottery. It combines analysis with description and justification of concepts and actual historiography. This has limits. Only about 25 to 40% of time span the past of pottery producing populations in Southern Mozambique, covering some 1800 to 2000 years, can be reconstructed from historical records. For only about 10% to 40% of this past, depending on the region, do we have regional pottery sequences in public collections, publications or pottery classification. Therefore the conclusions of the research done in chapters 4 and 5, and the bases for the hypotheses reach a fraction only of the whole past. The advantages of introducing archaeological and linguistic evidence and some data from oral traditions permits to eliminate the artificial chronological frontiers introduced by dependence on written records and extend in the case of the Changamire and Tembe systems to periods before 1450.

The date of 1450 is important. It is linked not only to the decline of Great Zimbabwe and foundation of the Mutapa state, but also to the second of four southern mfecane periods.

2. The models sketched of lineage state, predatory expansion, corridors, fan like structures etc. should not be applied or rejected blindly. There is certainly an impact from ecology on settlement patterns, on visibility and additional factors might be identified.

3. Migrations belong partly to the paradigm level (in the terminology of Kuhn) of scientific reconstructions. They were included in many types of racist theories and colonial attempts to dispute the rights of the previous owners of the land. Thus they lost academic respectability. But when migration is the best explanation for distribution patterns it should not be avoided to present them. Predatory expansion is one of the processes to be considered when we analyze distribution of traditions. Anti-migration paradigms are often part of anticolonialist nationalist paradigms and as such not based on evidence from field and archival research. Therefore they should be rejected whenever there is evidence to the contrary. When ruling groups that create lineage states migrate, they often accept the local language. Therefore the language groups may be generally be much more stable than dynasties. Dynasties can create identities.

4. History of the Nguni, Sotho, Shona, Tonga and Tsonga groups is complex and has been reconstructed for the first millennium on the basis of ethnographic and linguistic data. These data would suggest that the linguistic units were formed in the first millennium. Tonga (of Inhambane) and Shona seem to have a common background at the level of the Gokomere-Zhizo tradition. Even Tonga of inhambane has a world derived from khoe-loans. . Some processes become visible in the middle iron age, but we have better data for the late iron age. Several processes of predatory expansion of Nguni and modern Tsonga groups can be followed.

5. Newitt (1978) aptly spoke of a southern Swahili coast in the Mozambique Channel. The now ethnically disappeared Swahili are quite visible in pottery, probably a sign, that not only men but also women migrated. The pottery attributed to Swahili comprises both TIW and Sancule (Muhoro) tradition. Some of

the finer like the Kilwa wealed and Husuni Kubwa ware pottery may have been imported, but most (e.g. Sancule) produced locally.

6. Adoption of cultural symbols like the carinated pots for cooking rice or relish (*kalango*, *kaango*, *cibvuko*) or vaguely biconical Zulu beer pots might either be designated as diffusion or adoption of cultural symbols from neighbours as sign of belonging to a common civilization. This does not necessarily imply continued political belonging.

7. Some of the bigger state formations visible only through the movements they occasioned, not through their own centres. The chance of joining the correct pieces and arriving at a correct interpretation are probably small. Major political formations such as Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe may have included up to 10 times more territory than visible to archaeologists through ruins and pottery (cf. Huffman 2007: 281, 400). Both states may have reached the Mozambican coast. This becomes probable and plausible, if we attempt some political modeling derived from the study of the mfecane of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, looking at the Gaza state after 1840 and those of the Magwangwara and Maseko ca. 1882-1895. (There are also serious gaps in archaeological research in Mozambique). The 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century Thovele state also seems to be only partly visible (cf. Liesegang 1977, Huffman 2007:422).

8. What has been described shows that pottery is an instrument with sensitivity to identities and changes, but often does not represent a linguistic, and rarely a political entity. It is a diffuse sum of markers showing a wide variety of influences on communities according to situation. In periods of massive population movements and partial replacement of the original inhabitants it can show significant changes and reflect movements. Not every change in tradition is due to major population movements. The occupation of pottery centers by incoming population groups such as in Mutamba south of Inhambane may have contributed to changes. A pottery ware is essentially a reflection of social and aesthetic norms and is influenced by the form of production (dispersed or based on centers) and as such neither reflects always linguistic units nor states, especially the former lineage state.

9. Such previous authors as A. Smith 1973, Rita-Ferreira 1982, Huffman 1989 probably Ohinata 2002, suggested that population movements were important historical elements in the past. Beach realized that migrations are approached (or rejected) often through the lens of nationalist paradigms of local continuity and owners of the land. The type of population movements suggested is thus not new to construction of history in Southern Africa. In 1978 T. Huffman had proposed the existence of an 11<sup>th</sup> century mfecane (or predatory expansion?) which might have contributed in the formation of the Shona. But did they fully substitute the language of the Gokomere-Ziwa ware producers? Possibly not. Did they bring the Karanga identity? It may have existed at Mapungubwe.

10. The presence of such movements seems to be borne out by the Mozambican evidence, both oral and written. These pressures from the south appear in Mozambique in oral traditions. We have tried to present a historical picture for a more limited time period. But Mapungubwe, whose political limits are unknown, must have stretched further south and east as a state the possibility of pressures from the south and chance of extensive movements should be taken into account<sup>64</sup>.

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<sup>64</sup> Bannerman (oral communication) questioned why João dos Santos in 1609 [1999:224-226] and later Bocarro should have referred to "encosses" (nkosi) as chiefs (a term generally linked to Nguni) around Tete referring to pre-1570 history and not used the

11. The end of the great Zimbabwe state around 1450 seems to have liberated groups like the Thovele-Venda, Loyi, Gwambe.

12. There are strong signs of movements from modern South Africa at uncertain dates (ca. 1450?) in Southern Mozambique. It is not all clear if these groups, including Makwakwa, Khosa, Langa, Mpfumu, Nwamba all belong to the same phase. Some must certainly be dated to a period before 1554.

13. The last wave of Tsonga migrations in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries may have started as process of war and predatory expansion in Swaziland and South Africa but transformed into a process of building mini-states or lineage states, once the Incomati and Limpopo valleys had been reached and crossed. Unlike the 19<sup>th</sup> century mfecane the states never reached sizes of more than approximately 5.000 to 40.000 square km.

14. The mfecane of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that led to the formation of the Gaza state were not an exceptional single crisis but part of a long history of population pressures, which had affected larger areas. The relatively good data base we have for the area north of the Limpopo in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and archaeological records for older periods give us the chance to open up new time perspectives.

15. The real history of southern Mozambique before 1730 or 1550 in Southern Mozambique may be somewhat different from the history that was sometimes imagined until 1970 or appeared in conflicting myths. If the link between Manyikene and Thulamela-Chikundo is correct (cf. Jaques 1982), the Bashika-Sono state seems to have occupied a greater space during certain periods of the past as the site in the coastal hinterland would suggest. Gwambe further south must have co-existed, with Manyikene and Chibuene, together with others, during part of the period but is more elusive. Had Gwambe passed her peak long before 1560? Did she stretch out in the interior? Did she have any anchor point there? Was she related to Loyi movements or the Mapungubwe state? The Simunye tradition may have heterogeneous origins, possibly even including some in Mozambique. This would invite analyzing population dynamics before the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

16. The assumptions about continuity of populations like the Tonga, partly proven by loan words acquired locally perhaps around the 9<sup>th</sup> century, and lineages of chiefs that may go back to the 13<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century have to be complemented by further research on culture, language and archaeology.

17. A Kalanga presence as far south as the Incomati gives another context for the Tembe formation south of the Bay and finds in this area.

18. Most of the "Macomate"-emigrants of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century may indeed have had an origin near the Incomati (Nkomati) river or smaller Libombos, which was one of the war zones in 1727<sup>65</sup>. (There is the possibility that the name of this river was derived from the people living there, who area seems to have extended further south). Another player in the system in addition to the Dlamini who seem to have been present by 1750 near the southern end of the Libombos, must have been the Pai (Mbayi), a northeastern Sotho-group then resident in the Northern Swaziland (and Barberton-Nelspruit?) area. But events farther away may also have played a role<sup>66</sup>. The Pai were partly eliminated, partly absorbed or evicted by the Swazi

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regionally more adequate "mambos" or mwanamambos, etc. A search in the Nyungwe dictionary also showed some possible southern traces.

<sup>65</sup> The river itself may have taken the name from the population, or vice versa.

around 1830-1860<sup>67</sup> and thus ceased to be a player. But some Tsonga like the Nwamba (of Moamba)<sup>68</sup> and Ngomane stayed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and survived to the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

19. The higher interior of present day South Africa was free from malaria, which reduced infant and adult mortality, resulting in population pressure, which would influence socio-political mechanisms. One of them might be predatory expansion. The high altitude did not guarantee adequate food supply.

20. Sono domination was ended by Cawuke and Vilanculos in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in what seems to have been a more general process also in the interior of Gaza in the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

21. The data seem to support the conclusion that states and linguistic groups can only occasionally be traced through pottery, but certain population movements involving members of powerful linguistic groups in types of predatory expansion seem to be reflected in the distribution of shapes and motives, but possibly only for a certain period. There are also other processes of change in decoration (often the reduction of it), assimilation of forms of neighbours which require more attention.

22. The Luangwa-Lumbo migration left a lasting impact north of the Zambezi, although Makhuwa preserved much of the original Eastern Bantu lexemes. Segmentary tendencies and social and political changes seem to have obliterated most political structure introduced by Luangwa-Lumbo and Marave migrations.

## **6.2. Hypotheses**

1. Not all linguistic borders of the past seem to have been where they are today, some where certainly moved, especially the southern limit of Kalanga (now Shona) linguistic influences. There is little doubt that there must have been a Tsonga group round Delagoa Bay and further South, reaching inland, which by the 13<sup>th</sup> century were already reaching the Limpopo, if they had not been there before. It may have been influenced by movements to and from the Nkomati groups.

2. The Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe states extended far beyond their central area and may have included the lowlands of Southern Mozambique. After the extinction of the centre the outlying political structure may have survived. Refugees from the centre may also moved into these areas.

3. For speakers in southern Mozambique around 1300-1400 the term Karanga or Kalanga included the people of the Mapungubwe state. Migrants from the Mapungubwe area into Mozambique were considered as having come from Kalanga. The application of the term Kalanga would mean that the area had been subject to the Mapungubwe state. Only later the term Karanga became applied to Nyai and Rozwi (cf. Jaques 1982: 78).

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<sup>66</sup> One of the versions of DZIVI origins I recorded in 1971 referred to Middelburg (with Ndebele population) as their place of origin.

<sup>67</sup> A popular internet site (Barberton) assumes that the Pai were absorbed by the Swazi as Maseko, but it seems that this had already been defended by NJ. van Warmelo.

<sup>68</sup> Contrary to what Rita-Ferreira 1982 had assumed, they were mentioned by the Dutch .

4. The Loyi- migration is related to the formation of the first Changamire state after the decay of Zimbabwe 1450-1550. It is posterior to the Sono conquests. It may be contemporary to Gwambe expansion, but apparently the result of expansion of another sub-clan, which in turn changed name and characteristics.
5. The Sono state documented from ca. 1506 may be identical with, or a successor to, the "Bashika" or Basiga state that dominated the Bazaruto coast and preceded the Mhandla (Vilanculos = Bila Nkulu).
6. Pottery from Matutuine close to the old ritual center of Tembe west of Bela Vista/Matutine (M 147 of Korfmann et al. 1987: 47-7) seems related to Mapungubwe, either posterior or from a common background. It is a fine channelled ware with sometimes curvilinear inside decoration in bowls, may be linked to a phase of "Kalanga" expansion in southern Mozambique which formed a center in Matutuine, in the Tembe state, but not only there and may extend to Swaziland.
7. Oral tradition that refers to Nguni origins may include relations with Sotho as well. A faint pointer is in the terminology of some shapes in the pottery spectrum at Marracuene. The modern pottery spectrum of different branches of the Tsonga does not seem to have direct correspondences to Nguni terms, but one or two are shared with Sotho.
8. In the present moment the Langa expansion to Moçambique, first mentioned by H.Ph. Junod 1927 and in gross telescoping attributed to Zwile Langa (Langa 1927: ), seems to have gained more reality due to appearance of isolated Moor Park sherds (Huffman 2007: 158-161) on the upper Limpopo. The Langa are today western Chopi. They may have come from the west, not necessary directly from the south,
9. Seriation of pottery can become difficult when we have intrusions of pottery producers or other changes of identities without changes of the majority of the population. .

### **6.3. Possible future actions**

1. It is important to maintain reference collections and turn them into institutions useful for research. The ad hoc maintenance through research is entering into a crisis in Mozambique as well as elsewhere. It has to be substituted by a national solution with trained and motivated personnel and funds for material for marking, cataloguing and protection artefacts and registration from environmental damage (water, light, insects, etc.) .
2. Sites linked to the Cawuke in the Xikwalakwala Massengena area and the Vilankulu should be checked for finds to see if they have lozenge impressed patterns or obtained pottery at older centres. The question is whether the formation of the Hlengwe (Cawuke) state included movements of predatory aspects, any visibility of stamped pottery in Chicualacuala, Massangena close to the Save flood plain. The ceramic sequence, types of sites found there should be registered. The Cawuke conquest was according to tradition an usurpation within the dynasty. But the only outside source, Bernardo Castro Soares ca. 1728, would

lead us to presuppose a predominance of foreign elements. It may be that the expanding dynasty attracted small groups of migrants from the south who partly made their own pottery. The focus only on the chiefly genealogies probably led us to omit the importance of the population in general which may have been composed of refugees from the area near Swaziland and produced the pottery.

3. Recording of historical sites such as former sacred forests, cemeteries of chiefs, with and without visible remains should be supported, with their corresponding traditions and origins.

4. Not only in future Park areas but also certain other areas with known and suspected sites research should be done by active and gifted students. These might include Matutuine, Manjacaze, Marracuene, and northern Inhambane (in coordination with previous researchers who still have to publish results).

5. Certainly much more can still be done by persistent activities, good preservation of collections and observation of traces uncovered by erosion or building. Natural erosion and destruction of sites by humans acts swiftly, especially in sandy environments and slopes. Sites exposed should be explored within a short time. The writer found that almost all of the smaller sites near Inhambane exposed by erosion or road building in 1971 had disappeared 6 to 8 years later. The same was true of sites seen in 1978 near Chonguene, which were untraceable in 1994 when the road had been shifted west. The Zitundo site referred to by Morais was no longer visible in 1997. Funds should therefore be attributed for small salvage excavations.

6. More should be done for the preservation of finds made accidentally and site reference collections should be maintained in Museums or other institutions. They are the backbone of typological and other analytical research.

7. The archaeologist who works with material culture and oral sources, questions of identity, interaction of systems, has to assimilate the experiences of anthropologists and historians, especially with regard to telescoping, transformation of myths in other interpretations of sources. Both as a result of changes in the understanding of historical method and the redistribution of fields of research. History up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century can now be legitimately studied in interdisciplinary manner by archaeologists<sup>69</sup> who should be aware of pitfalls, such as telescoping, name substitution, myth creation and possibilities of traditional historical sources.

The same is true for historical linguistics. If possible they should also follow distribution studies of lexemes and other elements in this field.

8. Those who intend to do fieldwork on the Iron Age should familiarize themselves with the main traditions in southern Mozambique, namely

Matola (Monapo, Nampula, Silver Leaves)

Mzonjani and Garonga (Huffman 2007: 126-133)

Gokomere and Gokomere-Zhizo, Lydenburg-Msuluzi<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Archaeologists like K.R. Robinson in his study of Khami already referred to oral tradition in a way which would now be considered naïve, although he included valid observations.

<sup>70</sup> This horizon is underreported in Southern Mozambique. It was encountered not only in Inhambane, but also in the Sandpits of Zimpeto in northern part of Maputo

Blackburn Nquabeni  
 Leokwe and other wares related to Mapungubwe Matutuine  
 Sancule linked to Swahili at Chiboene  
 Nhaguiviga-Furvela  
 Silowa and Letaba group pottery <sup>71</sup>  
 Simunye tradition family (lozenge stamped pottery)<sup>72</sup>  
 For northern Mozambique Kwale-Matola-Monapo, Lumbo are indispensable.

9. It would be very helpful if it could be attempted to relaunch archaeological in the north and try to see if Lumbo tradition could be differentiated into several phases and links to later Makuwa and Makonde fazies explored. Sites with a stratigraphy would be helpful.

10. Historical linguistic research on Sotho, Tonga and Shona should be encouraged to explore possible relationships in the area of lexemes, loans and innovations.

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<sup>71</sup> See Korfmann et all. 1986 Machava , Rijisberg & Macamo

<sup>72</sup> See Ohinata 2002



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